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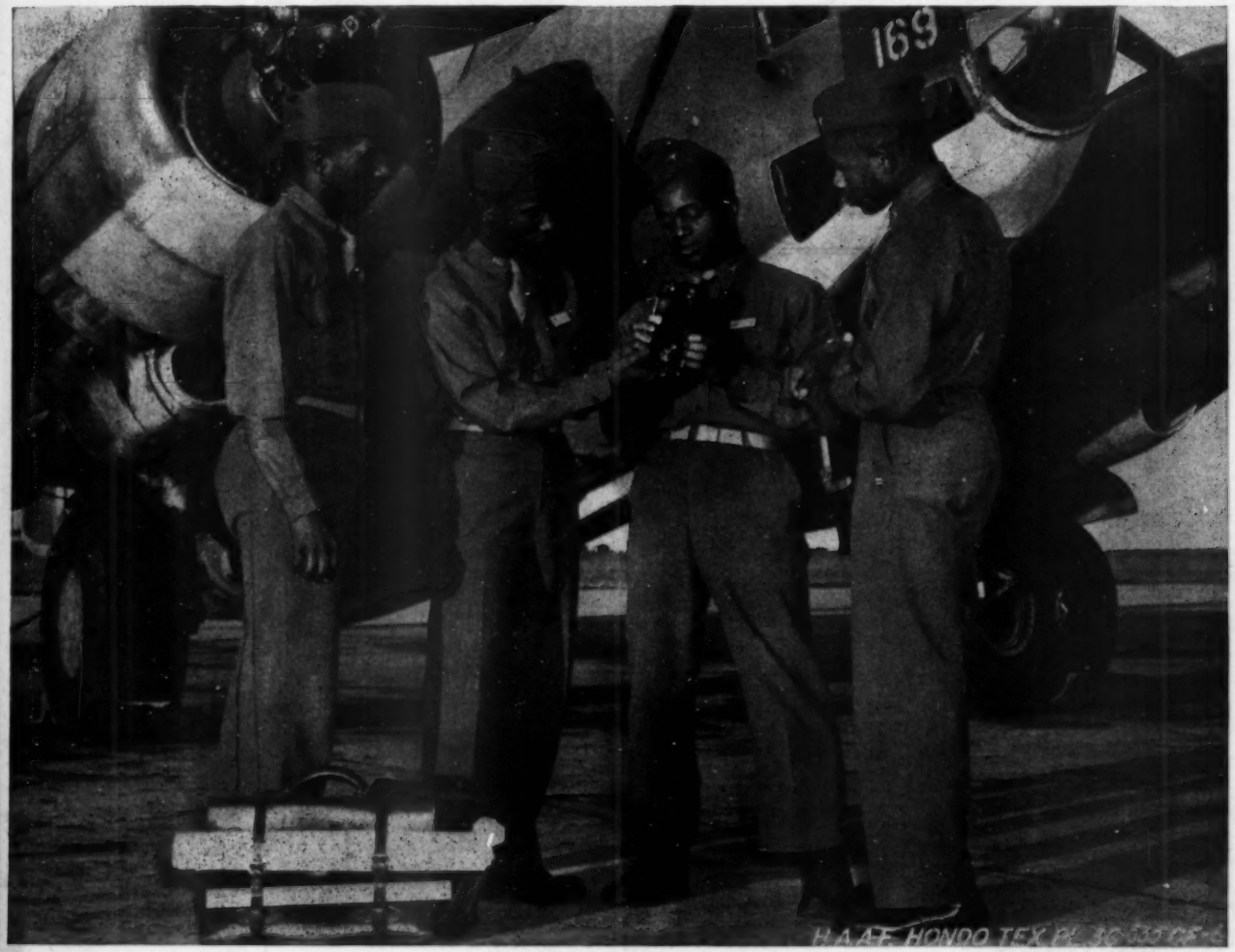

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College and School News

Dr. James A. Boynton, head of the department of psychology at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE, has been granted leave to accept a position as associate social science analyst in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president of the PALMER MEMORIAL INSTITUTE, spoke on the 10th anniversary program held by the national congress of the American-Soviet Friendship League in mid-November. Dr. Brown has been invited to go to Soviet Russia with four or five outstanding white people in the very near future at the invitation and expense of the Russian government.

Beginning December 6 three new courses under the Engineering, Science and Management War Training Program were offered by ATLANTA UNIVERSITY in cooperation with the U. S. Office of Education. The courses in physics, chemistry and personnel management are offered free of any tuition costs to students of draft age or anyone interested in preparation for war or post-war specialized technical positions in industry and government under Civil Service.

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Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs, president of LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.); Dr. Lorenzo Greene, acting head of the history department, and Dr. R. Clyde Minor, head of the sociology department, spoke before a committee of the Missouri Constitutional Convention on November 23 in behalf of the Civil Rights proposal under consideration.

According to Mrs. Ethel H. Smith, head of home economics department of WILEY COLLEGE, the nursery department is fully equipped and open to registration to those who find themselves in need of the type of service it can give. This department is intended to provide a service that will not only

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Drs. E. D. Grizzelle, W. A. Arnold and Carl Miller, all of the University of Pennsylvania, together with Dr. John A. Shilling of the Delaware Education Department, recently conferred with Dr. Howard D. Gregg, president of DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE, and faculty on certain phases of the operations of the college.

A war production project on processing rope for life rafts is under way. This project is under the auspices of the New Farmers of America and includes 60 students of both high school and college grade, 25 of whom are girls. Students are taught the techniques of splicing rope, at the same time they are able to average $3.00 per week on the project. Ropes so processed go directly into war operations.

Early in December at the semi-annual Honors Day observance at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE 35 young men were cited at a special chapel service for high scholastic honors. The principal speaker was Dr. Alfonzo Elder of Atlanta University. He spoke on "The Search For Certainty."

Miss Rachel H. Seagrave is the new head of the education department at STORER COLLEGE. She was born in Burma where she spent many years as a missionary teacher.

Dean Leroy D. Johnson has had an article, "Simple Apparatus for Carbon and Hydrate Detection" accepted by the *Journal of Chemical Education* which has published a number of his studies.

Mrs. R. E. Olds, trustee and devoted friend of Storer College, has established a second scholarship fund.

In the third Victory Bond Drive, 65 persons connected with the college gave $1,100.04.

To met special needs created by the drafting of 18-year-olds into the Armed Forces, the Division of Trades and Industries at HAMPTON INSTITUTE will admit new men students to some of its departments at the beginning of the second semester February 1, 1944, according to George W. Davis, acting director. Previously students were only permitted to enter at the opening of the academic year in September. Women students will continue to be admitted only at that time. Out of a total of 407 former trade students called to the colors, at least 154 are either commissioned or non-commissioned officers including two captains, 24 first lieutenants, 10 second lieutenants and 53 sergeants in the Army and 66 other men with advanced ratings in the Army and Navy. Thirteen trades are taught and actual job experience is afforded.

Staff members as well as students are helping to relieve the war-time labor shortage by assisting in the sweet potato harvest, waiting on tables, preparing vegetables or washing dishes at Holly Tree Inn. Co-eds assisted in harvesting the fall crops.

(Continued on page 29)

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Vol. 51, No. 1 Whole Number 397

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THE MONTH 27

The Crisis was founded in 1910 and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y., by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15 cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while The Crisis uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.

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COVER

Aviation students at Hondo, Texas, "plotting the shot" to ascertain personal and sextant error prior to take off. Left to right, aviation student Wendell R. Smith, 1422 E. 17th St., Des Moines, Ia; aviation cadet Alfonso C. Toler, 1112 Payne St., Bluefield, W. Va.; aviation cadet William A. Harrison, 271 W. 150th St., New York City; and aviation student Harold E. Ward, 2045 Blades Ave., Flint, Mich.

NEXT MONTH

The February issue will contain the listing and review of books by Negro authors published during 1943. Arthur B. Spingarn is the reviewer. Brazil, which has been in the news recently because of the rumor that she plans to bar Negro immigrants, has probably the most mixed-blooded population of any Latin American country. Pictures of these people and their country will be a feature of the February number. How do soldiers amuse themselves after the day's duties? Chauncey Lee tells what they do in an article on the USO camp show and the soldier. Morton Fineman promises an ironic story of recreational life along the color line, and Cedric Dover, noted Eurasian writer, will write on colored unity.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Louis E. Martin is the editor-publisher of the *Michigan Chronicle* and active in labor and racial affairs in Detroit, Mich. William Grant Still, now recognized as one of America's foremost contemporary serious composers, is also one of this country's leading orchestrators. As late as 1940 he made the orchestrations for several of Artie Shaw's recordings, one of which, "Frenesi," swept the country and not only won fame with jazz devotees, but was frequently used for analysis in university music classes. He now lives in Los Angeles, California. Gwendolyn Williams lives in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Editorials

Freezing "Negro" Jobs

IN A measure, the whole future of the Negro in employment, and especially in industrial employment, is bound up in the defiance of the FEPC by sixteen southern railroads. These carriers admit they discriminate against Negroes in employment, specifically that they are refusing to employ any Negro firemen.

They tell the FEPC, which ordered them to cease such discrimination, that they will not abide by the order, and that they do not believe FEPC has the authority to issue any orders against discrimination. They make this defiance despite the fact, revealed at hearings last September, that there is a shortage on their lines of 850 firemen. One railroad union also defied the FEPC, replying that its constitution permitted only "white born" persons to become members.

The dispute was among the domestic issues laid before President Roosevelt when he returned from his historic conference at Teheran. At last there seems to be a clear case for a decision as to whether Mr. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9346 forbidding racial discrimination in employment in war industries and agencies means what it says.

In the railroad case the question of the legality of the Executive Order and its creature, the FEPC, is raised. A flat refusal to obey is on record from powerful and necessary carriers, and from powerful railroad brotherhoods.

What will Mr. Roosevelt do? Every employer and every thoughtful colored American in the country is awaiting his decision. If he fails to back up FEPC, if he says by that action that employers need not hire Negroes, then it may be expected that our people will be pushed out of jobs at the first opportunity. Moreover, the general thesis that American citizens have a right to opportunity for employment without racial and religious discrimination will receive a blow that may easily be mortal.

Such a decision will entrench the philosophy that Negroes are entitled only to certain kinds of employment. This philosophy has been jolted, but by no means uprooted, by the Executive Order, by FEPC activities, and by the hard necessities of war. If there should be now a retreat by the President before the defiance of the southern carriers and brotherhoods, the Negro will be forced again into the heart-breaking struggle to escape from a frozen economic status. In this predicament he would have some allies in the new industrial unions, but he would be battling always against a current of public opinion immeasurably reinforced by the acquiescence of government.

The picture has been complicated by the vote of the railroad brotherhoods to strike on December 30 if their wage demands are not met. But Mr. Roosevelt must act in support of FEPC. If he does not, the bottom will have dropped out of the war effort and war aims for Negro Americans. They will know a despair that is certain to deepen as the full meaning of their plight comes home to them in the years ahead.

NOTE: Since this editorial was written the President has ordered the Army to take over the railroads for the government as of the evening of December 27. It will be interesting to see what the government, as operator of the carriers, will do about the FEPC order on the use of Negro firemen and other employes.

First Bomber Pilots

DURING November the War department announced that twelve Negro flying officers, nine from the Tuskegee air base, and three from Selfridge field in Michigan, have been graduated as twin-engined aircraft pilots and assigned to Mather field, California, for further study of the B-25 medium bomber in the transition school located there.

This is good news. It is accompanied by announcement of the progress in training of Negro bombardiers, navigators, and ground crew members to handle the medium bombers to be flown by our boys. From the very beginning of the training program—before Pearl Harbor—our young men have been eager to get into all branches of the Army and Navy Air Forces. The Army, reluctantly and skeptically, cracked the door of opportunity by setting up the jim crow training base at Tuskegee—for fighter pilots only. The graduates of this school, despite heartbreaking restrictions, have made good in combat,

Notwithstanding recent favorable progress of the war, it is patent that we need all the skill, daring and courage we can muster if complete victory is to be won. The Pacific theatre, because of the distances, depends heavily on the air arm. THE CRISIS believes War and Navy department officials should take the following additional steps on Negroes in military aviation (a) abolish segregation in the training of these young Americans, let them fly and fight together for their common country; (b) admit Negroes to the heavy, four-engined bomber training schools; (c) admit Negroes (now totally excluded) to all branches of Navy and Marine aviation.

Kill the Poll Tax

IT TOOK the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill to awaken organized labor to the menace of the poll tax. Now the current fight over the Soldier Vote bill has stirred millions of apathetic Americans outside the poll tax states to the evil of this tax.

The Senate might have passed the Green-Lucas Soldier Vote bill had not the senators from the poll tax states succeeded in winning to their side enough Republicans from the North and West to pass, instead, the vicious and meaningless Eastland-McClellan-McKellar measure which leaves the matter to the states. The poll taxers do not want Federal supervision of the soldier vote. That would mean that the men and women in the armed services—black and white—would have a chance to vote. With the matter left to the states, disfranchisement can go on as usual.

If this decision affected only the poll tax states it would be bad enough. But it affects the entire country. The boys in uniform from New Hampshire, Montana, California, and other states outside the poll tax belt, will be disfranchised, also.

Thus the poll tax stands revealed for what it is. It keeps in power a little clique of bigoted men term after term. They get a grip on Congress through seniority on powerful committees. They choke off or pass legislation according to their narrow views. The whole country suffers.

This is the reason why the anti-poll tax bill in the Senate must be passed. Ten million Americans, now disfranchised, should have the vote. The Dixie octopus strangling the rest of the country must be shaken off. Write or wire your senators asking them to (a) vote for cloture to stop a filibuster, and (b) vote for the bill when it comes up for a vote.

Detroit — Still Dynamite

By Louis E. Martin

The lesson of the Detroit mayoralty campaign of last November, as this incisive article points out, is that the combined Negro-labor vote can easily tip the scales in a local northern, or national, election, but that without progressive leadership unscrupulous policitians can easily keep the two groups divided by the bogey of racism

WITH political wiseacres seizing upon every straw in the wind and racking their brains over all the incidents which seem to be significant signposts for the nation's polical course in 1944, the municipal election of November 2, 1943, in Detroit, offers us a proper subject for extended comment. Although the Detroit election was non-partisan, both the Republican and the Democratic party leadership exhibited a serious interest in its outcome.

This interest was aroused chiefly because two unknown and highly variable political quantities, the Negro people and organized labor, had come together in a united front to seek an important poltical victory. It goes without saying that the great northern industrial cities, in which both the Negro and labor vote is large and decisive, may mean the difference between victory and defeat for either party in the coming presidential election.

Conflict of Traditions

In recent times there has been increasing friction between the two old American traditions, one of which is essentially liberal and democratic and the other patently reactionary and anti-democratic. In perhaps no other great American city does this conflict come into sharper focus than in tumultuous Detroit. Even before the war this city was notorious for its union struggles and sit-down strikes, for its booms and depressions, for its industrial prowess and its almost vulgar vitality.

Detroit Cross-Section America

Detroit presents, too, a real cross-section of all the races and colors of people who make up our national population. The restive, unassimilated masses of industrial workers who have brought to Detroit a bewildering variety of customs and folkways have had to work out some practical pattern of life and make many awkward adjustments to one another and all this in a brief period.

It is not strange, therefore, that Detroit has become the national "testing ground" for every new crackpot design for living and for every political nostrum from Technocracy to Coughlinism. It is not surprising either that the Black Legion was cradled here, that the Ku Klux Klan has flourished, and that such demagogues as Gerald L. K. Smith, Frank Norris, and Father Coughlin are able to hold the center of the city's "cultural" stage.

The municipal election campaign which has just closed with the triumph of a mayoralty candidate who literally salvaged a victory out of the popular prejudices of the people offers a perfect illustration of what has happened to Detroit and what may very well happen to many major cities in America. The repercussions of this campaign are already being felt in Brooklyn, New York, where the Mid-Town Civic League has raised the "black spectre" for political purposes, and they may be felt in the national elections of 1944.

Detroit News Photo

His defense of the killings by the police during the riot, and his jim crow housing plank, cost Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., the Negro vote in the recent Detroit mayoralty campaign although he won.

Poor Leadership

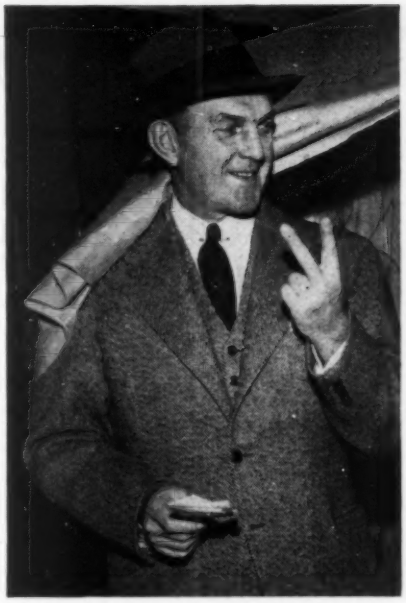
It was no secret in Detroit that the Negro people and organized labor, including the powerful CIO auto union and many affiliates of the A. F. of L., were weary of the "pussyfooting, vacillating leadership" of Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr. Fresh in the minds of the Negroes was the Mayor's famous jim-crow proclamation of April 29, 1943, in which he declared, with City Council support, that "The Detroit Housing Commission, will, in no way, change the racial characteristics of any neighborhood in Detroit through occupancy standards of housing projects under their jurisdiction."

Police brutality has been a long standing grievance among most Negroes and a great many whites. The straw that broke the camel's back, however, were the Mayor's sins of omission and commission in the race riot of June 20. The Negroes were astounded by his "white paper" on the riot, which was in essence a defense of police action in the rioting and of his own "do nothing" administration.

Mayor Jeffries is the son of the late Judge Jeffries of the Recorder's Court, a rugged character who was loved by Negroes and the common people. The elder Jeffries had been a leader in Coxey's army and a tireless fighter against special privilege. Jeffries, Jr., however, has exhibited few of these qualities and in the words of a post-election editorial in the *Detroit Free Press*: "Here was a man who had everything necessary to a great public career. . . . Yet in the four years he has been in office he has failed to give the community what it so sadly lacks: leadership. Though warned again and again that race riots were inevitable he did nothing to prepare for them except to dodge the issue. . . . He did not grow on the job. He swelled. Instead of becoming a great civic leader he developed a reputation as a village wisecracker."

The leaders of the UAW-CIO who had often voiced their disgust with the Mayor made a desperate search for a candidate to run against Jeffries and, at the eleventh hour, they chose Circuit Court Comissioner Frank Fitzgerald. Judge Fitzgerald had made a good race for the senate on the Democratic slate and was expected to win regular Democratic suport although the municipal elections are non-partisan. Realizing that the young, energetic judge whose record was clean stood the best chance of beating Jeffries, the Negro leadership immediately joined hands with organized labor.

With front page editorials in big type, the powerful *Detroit News* opened its guns on Fitzgerald as soon as his candidacy was announced. It was disclosed that the UAW-CIO had voted to spend $20,000 in behalf of their candidate and the *News* spread the alarm over this "sinister" plot. The Hearst-owned *Detroit Times* followed suit and, with expressed reluctance, the *Detroit Free Press* finally fell in line.



Detroit News Photo

Judge Frank Fitzgerald repudiated racism but this bogey, raised by Mayor Jeffries, split the ranks of labor and brought about his defeat.

Negro-Labor Bogey

Growing more hysterical every day, the dailies began to raise the bogey of Negro-labor domination of the non-partisan city government. Fitzgerald was criticized for his inexperience and he was branded as a tool of selfish groups which were thirsting for control of Detroit.

A fortnight before primary election day October 5, the entire Negro leadership, the NAACP and the Negro press, were working in high gear to defeat Jeffries. Negro Republicans and Democrats had joined forces in a vote mobilization committee and offices were opened in the Negro Housing project in the middle of the East Side black belt. Negro labor leaders were working out of the regular labor campaign headquarters. Thousands of slates were printed, women workers were ringing doorbells and the preachers exhorted their flocks to go down the line for democracy and kick Jeff out of the city hall.

Despite the activity in the Negro districts and the work of labor leaders in the shops, the results of the primary came as a surprise to the downtown bosses of the city government. Fitzgerald was nominated with 97,000 votes and Jeffries came in second with 59,000. This was the first setback for Jeffries after serving eight years in the city council and four as Mayor. In the landslide a Negro attorney, Edward Simmons, a comparative unknown in politics, was nominated for the City Council.

The *Detroit News* headlined the fact that some Negro precincts which Jeffries had always carried by handsome majorities did not give him a single vote. It was the greatest show of solidarity among Negro voters ever known in Michigan. The conclusive defeat of Jeffries in the primaries was a staggering blow to him personally and to his powerful supporters who controlled the radio stations and the daily papers.

Curiously enough, the election returns revealed that the Polish elements near the Sojourner Truth project, which is described by the press as a "Negro project in a white neighborhood," had also voted against Jeffries. They charged that he was a "nigger-lover" because he had supported the right of Negro war workers to occupy the project over their protest in 1942. The Mayor was in the paradoxical position of having lost the support of Negroes and the support of those who were anti-Negro.

Jeffries and his campaign strategists quickly revamped their plans and adopted new techniques and it was soon apparent that their decision was to divide the opposition by exploiting the anti-Negro prejudices of the populace. Those who thought he was a "nigger-lover" were told to look at the election returns. It was the Negroes who were after his scalp. Thus with new found zeal and amazing energy the son of the late liberal Judge Jeffries began his crusade to defeat the "gangster minorities" who were trying to "capture" Detroit for their own "selfish ends".

Jeffries Had Two Arguments

Jeffries developed two major arguments on the Negro question: first, the Negroes started the riot of June 20 as proved by police records and by the amazing report of the Governor's Fact Finding Committee and, secondly, Negro leaders were trying to invade white neighborhoods by demanding "mixed" housing or bi-racial occupancy of government-built housing projects.

Typical statements made by the Mayor over the radio and in countless public talks are as folows: "My administration has said 'no' to a demand that Negroes be allowed to move into every white housing project in this city. Who made this demand for mixed housing? I again turn to the official minutes. One of the men most vociferously demanding mixed housing was Dr. James McClendon, president of the Detroit Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The NAACP is one of the groups exerting every effort to defeat me." He went on to call the names of white CIO leaders who joined the NAACP in this demand, Emil Mazey and Frank Winn.

In the same speech he declared: "All that I have tried to do has been to safeguard your neighborhoods in the character in which you, the residents, have developed them. . . . The Negroes of Detroit, in the primary, voted against me almost unanimously. I take it, therefore, that my opponent must have promised to make mixed housing the policy of his administration if elected."

Discussing the riot theme, the Mayor reviewed the "true facts" compiled by the police and the prosecuting attorney and declared: "The riot was a disgrace, but the conduct of the police department, by and large, was magnificent. . . . The fact that a large number of Negroes were arrested and that several were killed (17) by police officers during the riot is not discrimination against the colored man. His conduct during the riot made it necessary and the same treatment was accorded whites for similar offenses. I place the blame on no one group. I do say that Negro hoodlums started it."

Seeking to wriggle out of the vise of racism which the Mayor was gradually

tightening about his neck, Frank Fitzgerald declared in answer: "Mayor Jeffries and his cohorts drag the racial issue into this campaign as a matter of political expediency. . . . I have said that I want no part of this campaign of race hatred. If trouble arises because passions have been deliberately aroused, I want my hands to be clean, for as I said when I first announced my candidacy for mayor, I feel that our greatest need in these trying times is unity, tolerance and cooperation between all groups."

Fitzgerald declared that the Mayor had bungled the housing issue and charged that "thousands of war workers wander the streets, waiting for others to get out of their beds, so they can take their turn at sleeping. . . . Because the Housing Commission has failed to provide a roof for the incoming workingman and his family, we have a chaotic, dangerous situation, one which breeds disorder, violence, and an unhealthy attitude toward our American system of government."

He asked Jeffries: "Would he retain in office the police commissioner who made such a pitiful showing in his mis-handling of the June riots?" Denying that he was controlled by the CIO, Fitzgerald charged in large advertisements that Jeffries was the tool of the *Detroit News* and the realty interests who do not have the welfare of the common people at heart.

It goes without saying that such a campaign in a city which had undergone only a few months before the worst race riot that America has seen in twenty-five years produced new tensions and alarmed all those who were sincerely interested in better race relations in Detroit.

Race-Baiting Got Results

Toward the close of the campaign it was obvious that the Mayor's race-baiting was getting results. He had opened the door for the Klan, the pro-fascists, the Smithites, the Coughlinites, and all the reactionary elements in the population. Fitzgerald became so frightened by the changing sentiment of the whites who had been considered in his corner that he succumbed to the race-baiting line himself and reminded the people that Jeffries had supported the Negroes in the Sojourner Truth fight and he criticized Horace White, the Mayor's Negro appointee to the housing commission. Labor and Negro leaders quickly conferred with Fitzgerald and forced him to drop the racial line. This lapse, however, hurt Negroes but they still considered Fitzgerald as the lesser of two evils.

Four days before the general election, it was disclosed that former Klansmen were operating a "poison" factory in a downtown hotel room, distributing scurrilous literature supporting the candidacy of Mayor Jeffries. Several neighborhood tabloids were widely circulated among the whites bearing such headlines: FITZGERALD VICTORY MEANS STRATHMOOR AND COOLEY HIGH TO GET NEGRO FLOOD; IF FITZGERALD WINS, NEGROES WILL FLOOD AREA AND SOUTHWESTERN HIGH; MAYOR EXPOSES PLAN TO FORCE NEGROES INTO WHITE AREA. Small hand cards were distributed in the low-income white sections carrying the following message: "26,245 Negroes Voted For Fitzgerald. Only a Few Voted For Jeffries. How Are You Going To Vote?"

On election day, November 2, the police commissioner told the press that his department was prepared for any eventuality and close to 400,000 citizens went to the polls. Jeffries was re-elected by a majority of 35,000 votes and he received landslide majorities in the outlying, low-income white districts where it was expected that race-baiting would bring the greatest reward. Most of these whites, too, were dues-paying members of CIO and A. F. of L. unions.

The political impotence of the labor leadership was demonstrated by the fact that they could not overcome the racial bogey which Jeffries deliberately raised to split their ranks. Although Fitzgerald was not a "strong" candidate in his own right, the 400,000 dues-paying members of the UAW-CIO in Detroit could have easily elected him. The fact that any issue, racial or otherwise, can be used to split the forces of labor indicates that the vaunted political power of organized labor is more vaunted than valid in Detroit today.

This poses a serious problem for labor leadership and it must be overcome if they expect to counteract the political control of the vested interests. In San Francisco the labor candidate for mayor also suffered defeat although the Negro issue was not used to split the labor vote. Unquestionably the balance of political power in the nation rests with the Negro people and organized labor and together these two groups represent America's vote. Labor leaders in Detroit are fully cognizant of the problem now, and they are seriously preparing to educate the rank and file to the union way of life.

The five-million-dollar war fund which the national CIO has authorized for political purposes in 1944 can be well spent in building labor solidarity without which they canot exert political power. Too many workers have not learned to take seriously the relationship between their wages and working conditions and the attitude of the government which guarantees their rights. Some of them have even been deluded into believing that politics is a game which they should not play. They would leave politics to chance, which usually means the National Manufacturers Association and similar interests.

These weaknesses can be easily explained in terms of the comparative youth of the trade union movement in America and the persistence of the myth that toil is only temporary and a cool million is just around the corner. Despite the reverses for labor in San Francisco and Detroit the elections in New York present a refreshing contrast. The election of Francis E. Rivers to the city court bench and of Benjamin J. Davis to the city council was possible only because of a common front of the Negro people and the forces of organized labor.

Negro Masses Awakened

Despite the split in the ranks of labor in the Detroit election, the Negro citizens took some measure of comfort in the size and solidarity of the Negro vote. It is true that this was the result of the issues raised in the campaign, but it bears out also an increasing trend in Negro political development. The struggle to awaken the Negro masses has been long and arduous but the Negro council candidate, although he lost, polled 100,000 votes, the largest ever polled by a Negro in the history of the city. Some forty thousand of this total came from that element in the labor movement which refused to be misled by demagoguery.

Many of the Negroes who voted in the municipal election have come to Detroit since Pearl Harbor and the general shift in Negro population during this war period in which great numbers have left the South for the West and North may be reflected in greater voting strength in the national elections this year. If the votes of Negro servicemen who were disfranchised in their southern home states are counted in 1944, it is possible that the influence of the Negro people in the coming election will be twice as great as in 1940.

When we consider the potential strength of organized labor whose ranks have been swollen by new workers in industry and the enhanced political influence of the Negro people, there is every reason to believe that a

(Continued on page 25)

Kill the Poll Tax

THE anti-poll tax bill, H. R. 7, was introduced into the House January 6, 1943. It was passed on May 25 by a vote of 265 to 110. This bill is now in the Senate and has been voted upon favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but poll-tax senators, knowing they cannot kill the bill in open vote on the floor, have threatened to filibuster the measure to death. Senators Bilbo and Rankin of Mississippi have promised to take the lead in this threatened filibuster.

This is possible because under the Senate rules of unlimited debate a senator can talk on a measure as long as he has the floor. Under the Senate rules the only way to prevent such a filibuster from killing the bill is to invoke cloture—that is, to limit the number of minutes a senator will be allowed to speak on the issue.

Two-thirds of the senators must agree before cloture can be invoked, but the Senate is reluctant to invoke cloture because individual senators do not want their privileges of debate limited on some future pet bill.

Last year an anti-poll bill was defeated in the Senate because of the failure to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote for cloture. And unless cloture can be invoked H. R. 7 is also likely to be *filibustered* to death. So far the number of senators who have definitely committed themselves to cloture is less than the necessary two-thirds.

Therefore, it is the duty of every supporter of this bill to get his senator to vote for cloture, for a vote against cloture is in effect a vote against the anti-poll tax bill.

What is the Poll Tax?

The poll or head tax is part of the qualification for voting in the eight southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Annual assessment of this tax varies, however, from state to state. It varies from the annual $1.00 assessment in Alabama to as high as $2.00 in Mississippi. But probably the worst feature of this tax is that in some states if it is not paid one year the indebtedness is carried over to the next, and interest is frequently added. Which means that a

The poll tax originally established to give the vote to propertyless freemen during the colonial era has been dropped by most states and is now a device used for keeping the southern oligarchy in power

prospective voter must sometimes pay several hundred dollars before he is allowed the democratic privilege of voting.

Naturally southern tenant farmers and sharecroppers, white and black, who seldom see money at all, find the sums prohibitive. And to add to their woes dates for legal payments of the tax are fixed to cover those months when money from crops is not forthcoming and when political interest is usually at a very low ebb.

This means that Negro and white laborers, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, the very people who want and need legislation to secure better education, housing, and health opportunities, have no voice in determining what expenditures are to be made for these social services.

The politicians, however, often see to it that the taxes of their friends are paid and are quite willing to issue post-dated receipts to all those whose votes they can control. They make little or no attempt to collect payments from those not members of their political machines; they send out no notices; distribute no bills; and seldom invoke the enforcement laws. In fact, in many states efforts to collect payments of the tax have been ruled unlawful. Such political trickery results in the disfranchisement of 6,000,000 white and 4,000,000 Negro southern citizens and a strengthening of the political power of the southern demagogues who ride their backs.

4th WAR LOAN

JANUARY, 1944

★

BUY WAR BONDS
AND STAMPS
FOR VICTORY

Bolsters Southern Political Power

This political fraud which is the poll tax means in practice that it takes many times the number of northern or western votes to elect representatives as it does in the southern poll-tax states. To elect one Illinois congressman, for example, you need as many votes as it requires to elect fifty congressmen from the poll-tax states. Where 560,000 votes elect six representatives in Connecticut, the same number of votes will elect fifty-eight representatives in the poll-tax states.

Four New York representatives were elected by more ballots than were cast for all the seventy-nine representatives from the combined eight southern poll-tax states. Whereas in the eight comparable non-poll-tax states of Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, New Hampshire, South Dakota, Utah, and West Virginia 82 percent of the voting population registered and voted in 1940, in the eight poll-tax states only 6 percent of the voting population went to the polls.

This restricted suffrage causes the representatives from the poll-tax states to be returned to Congress year after year. They hold office 39 percent longer than all other congressmen. And because congressmen with the longest tenure automatically become committee chairmen, the poll-tax representatives wield tremendous power in the committee of both houses.

This gives them, and they are usually reactionary in their voting on progressive bills, a major voice in control of the legislation affecting the rest of the country.

The only way to unseat these oligarchs is to urge your senator to vote for cloture, which is in effect urging him to vote for the anti-poll tax bill.

J. B.—J. W. I.

The Men Behind American Music

By William Grant Still

SEVERAL years ago, the director of music in the public schools of Washington, D. C., wrote a pamphlet on American music in which he said that a certain Virginia-born white composer "understands and interprets the Negro race better than most of its heralded composers." It is an interesting and comfortable concept. But is it true?

In the first place, this Virginian (who, by the way, is undeniably a splendid musician and who has won the admiration of the musical world: John Powell) must have borrowed, to some extent, from the Negro in order to write successfully in that idiom. Any white composer who writes in a Negroid idiom—whether it be Jacques Wolfe, Louis Gruenberg, Robert MacGimsey, Gershwin, Powell or any of the others who have attempted it—has had to borrow something, whether he has borrowed from a known individual or from an unknown folk source.

In the second place, Mr. Powell may have handled the Negroid material better than most of us (I leave that to posterity to decide) but to me, white imitations of Negro music will always be superficial, no matter how similar they may be in their external aspects, or how pleasing they are to the ear. They lack a fundamental "something" that belongs only to the Negro.

Composers Borrow From Negro

It is not surprising that many American composers have borrowed from the Negro, for some of the acknowledged European masters have also been fascinated by our music and either wrote, or wished to write, in that idiom. Dvorak and Debussy are two of the most prominent. Delius (see Eric Fenby's book about him) and Ravel (see p. 208 in David Ewen's *Composers of Today*) were two others who made no secret of their debt to the Negro. Even Brahms (see Pp. 176-177 in Robert Haven Schauffler's book, *The Unknown Brahms*) planned to use those "interesting rhythms" of American ragtime in his own work.

The Americans whose names come first to mind are Robert MacGimsey and George Gershwin. Mr. MacGimsey came from the South to New York with the manuscript of his "Shadrack",

When you hear Benny Goodman, you may be listening to the music of Fletcher Henderson; when you hear Tommy Dorsey, you may be hearing Sy Oliver; when you hear Harry James, it is probably the music of Calvin Jackson. Popular music is in essence Negro music and some of the best contemporary composers and arrangers are Negro, as this distinguished composer points out in this authoritatively vivid article

and I orchestrated it and first played it over the "Deep River Hour". Anyone who knows the song will recognize its similarity to "Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho". Later, this composer came to our home in California and showed us a little notebook full of authentic Negro folk tunes that he had heard and recorded. He not only expressed his enthusiasm for this music, but remarked that at a certain holiday season, a magazine of national circulation had asked him to write an appropriate musical composition for its pages. He made a setting of a Negro folk tune. It was presented, I believe, as his own composition, but he said there was no misunderstanding with the magazine—that he had been honest with the editors and that they knew what they were publishing.

As for George Gershwin, who wrote so much in the Negroid idiom, there are many Negro musicians who now claim to have done work for him, arranging or composing. I have no way of knowing whether any of these claims are justified. I do know that Gershwin did a great deal of unconscious borrowing from several sources (not always the Negro) and that he did some conscious borrowing which he apparently was generous enough to acknowledge, for he gave W. C. Handy a copy of the "Rhapsody in Blue," autographed to the effect that he recognized Handy's work as the forerunner of his own.

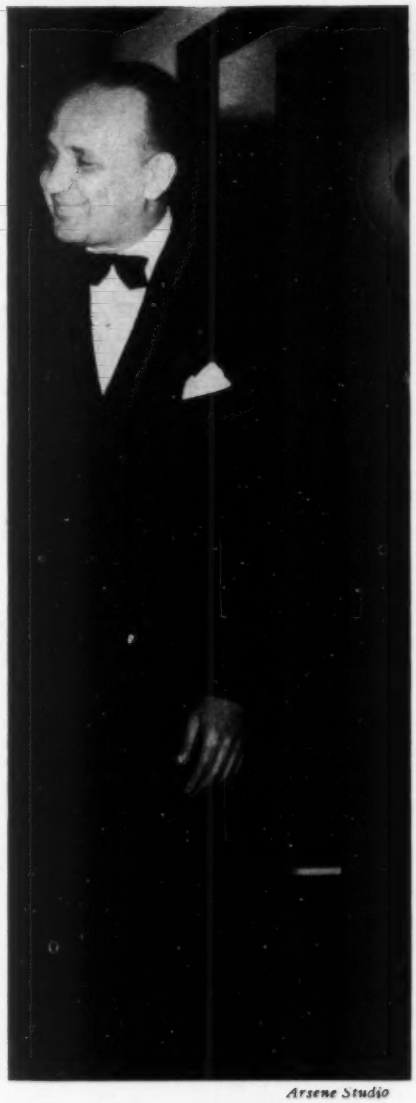
Popular Music Negro Creation

Gershwin belonged both to the serious and to the popular fields of American music. In the latter, the Negro's influence is so widely acclaimed that when we asked Charles Emge, a white writer on *Downbeat*, whether he had ever written anything on the Negro's contribution he said he had not because he has always taken it for granted that everyone knew—even people who are prejudiced—that the whole story of American popular music begins and ends with the Negro. The white musicians have gone far, declared he, but they have not been the creators, and jazz is essentially a spontaneous, creative art.

This man (Paul Whiteman) plays the tunes . . .

This man (William Still) arranges.

You hear this man's music (Benny Goodman) . . .



Arsene Studio

But it's frequently this man's (Fletcher Henderson) tunes.

The leaders in the popular music field evidently realize that, for most of them have employed colored people as arrangers, and sometimes as players. What most people fail to understand is that today the big name-bands are commercial institutions, just as a large manufacturing company is an institution. Every product of such a company must bear the label of that particular company, and the names of the individuals who invented or processed the products are shrouded in anonymity—to the general public, at least. The trade may know their names well. So it is with the popular bands. A bandleader may be a musician but—and this often happens—he may be only a master of ceremonies. No matter what he is, or what he can or cannot do, he or his name quickly becomes a label for a product which is sold to the public. Many people go into the making of that product. Publicity agents who glamorize it and stretch its appeal, the creators of new tunes or arrangers who bring new life to old tunes, the men who play the tunes—all of these are subservient to the main personality. Money is made in this fashion, and money has been lavishly used to promote sales. The average layman thinks very little about this background. When he hears a big band, he is impressed usually by the leading personality. Actually, he hears a great deal more than he thinks he hears.

Arrangers Un-Sung Heroes

Some of the "unsung heroes" of popular music, then, are the arrangers, many of them colored. They are paid for their work, and sometimes get public credit for it. I am told, however, that very few bandleaders will not succumb to temptation and place their own names on an arranger's work—or a composer's—if they think they can get away with it. Witness the time that Charlie Barnet bought from Bill Grey and Margie Gibson an arrangement of their own original tune, "Southland Shuffle," and recorded it for Victor. When the record came out, the two young musicians were amazed to find it listed Barnet as composer. Other people shared their amazement, for a trade paper asked pointedly, "Why do they do these confusing things on records? We know who wrote the piece!" . . . There was, incidentally, no confusion as to royalties. They went to the proper place.

Benny Goodman is said to be more than generous in this respect, often mentioning his arrangers in the middle of broadcasts. Goodman has also been unusually democratic. Not only has he had colored players in his band, but nearly always has employed some colored arranger. There were Fletcher Henderson and his brother Horace. Fletcher is said to have founded the modern swing style for big-name bands. Sometimes, though, Fletcher was credited with things Horace did. One was a particular tune, recorded by Goodman, called "Christopher Columbus". The theme was by Chu Berry. The arrangement was supposed to be by Fletcher, but was actually by Horace. This story, supported by affidavit, was printed and never challenged. Margie Gibson, who is thought to be the only woman now making commercial arrangements for the big bands, took the spot Fletcher Henderson left open when she "crashed" a Benny Goodman rehearsal and asked him to play an arrangement she had made for him. He played it, liked it, and asked for more. Later Benny Carter arranged some specialties for Goodman, and Jimmy Mundy during a period of three years was Goodman's only arranger.

Somewhere into the Benny Goodman picture steps the figure of John Hammond, wealthy white promoter who for years has made a careful study of colored bands and Negro music. Noble Sissle says that he used to come, night after night, to the spots in Harlem where the best colored bands played, and would sit quietly reading a book as if he were analyzing and searching. Without a doubt, his observations and comments have helped to add whatever is best in Negro jazz to the style of whatever white band he is interested in at the moment.

No other figure in the world of popular music has kept his popularity as long as Paul Whiteman. I think it is because he, too, has been democratic and generous, always willing to let his employes have a share in his success. It was so in the days when I arranged for him, and it has continued to be so. He is truly a big personality. He has always employed several arrangers simultaneously. During his many years before the American public, probably every noted arranger has worked for him at one time or another. His last colored arranger was the talented Jimmy Mundy, who started as a violin student and then played tenor sax with Earl Hines' band. After arranging for Goodman and Gene Krupa, he formed his own band. All this time he was making "hot" arrangements. When he finally went with Whiteman he learned to do ballads.

In Sissle's opinion, bands are definitely typed nowadays. Managers want colored bands, he says, to play always a distorted, highly specialized "jungle" style, while they prefer to have the white bands use what is termed a "sweet", commercial style, although the latter can and do go over to the more rhythmic style when the occasion demands it. However, the very opposite seems to be true of arrangers. I am told that no limitations are placed on arrangers, whether they are colored or white. Some bands have two arrangers, one to do swing and the other to do ballads. The bandleader chooses the arranger to do whatever he does best. Sometimes both arrangers can do swing or ballads. Every big band, of course, has something distinctive about its style, or some outstanding mannerism, and the arrangers must conform to that.

Popular Colored Arrangers

There are today a few more very popular colored arrangers. Almost every name-band in the country has some arrangements by Fred Norman (now writing for Connie Boswell) and by Don Redman who has his own band and who is noted (according to the Greys) for his legato movements in the trombones and heavy saxophone figures. Then there are those same Greys —Bill Grey and his wife, who writes under the name of Margie Gibson— who have arranged for many of the biggest bands in the business, among them Harry James, Ben Bernie, Artie Shaw, Freddie Martin, Charlie Spivak, Abe Lyman and Raymond Scott. Their styles blend so easily that they claim once to have carried on a continuous "swingshift" in making arrangements in Chicago, when they had to turn out twelve or fifteen dance arrangements a week. They worked so hard that they finally hit on the system of "spelling" each other. He would take the arrangement up to a certain point, wake his wife and tell her to modulate to a certain key, then go to sleep and let her carry on. Three hours would pass, then she would reverse the process. So it went on for days. Bill Grey's father was a musician in the old days, in Ohio. Margie Gibson had a New England Conservatory background and was taught the commercial side of orchestration by her husband.

Jimmie Lunceford's original style was established by Sy Oliver, his trumpeter who also arranged for him. (Sy Oliver is now in the Army working with a band at an eastern camp.—Ed.) This was unusual because most of the arrangers do not play in the bands. Then Tommy Dorsey discovered him and he is now arranging for Dorsey. Bill Moore also arranged for Lunceford, as did Edwin Wilcox. Billy Strayhorn has made a name for himself as Duke Ellington's arranger, and Elton Hill used to arrange for Gene Krupa. Phil Moore is now arranging in films, while Dudley Brooks (who used to arrange in films) is continuing the same career in a United States Navy band. Charles Cook, with his arrangements for Radio City, and Will Vodery's work for Ziegfeld and other big Broadway producers must not be forgotten.

A gifted newcomer to the arranging field is Calvin Jackson, who studied piano theory and composition at the Juilliard School until 1941; toured South America and the United States with Paul Draper, started a two-piano team with Margaret Bonds, and finally became Harry James' arranger.

Some of the younger generation of Negroes (who should know better) may occasionally be heard to discount the Negro's possible contribution to American popular music. They point, like certain white people, to white players like Bix Biederbeck and others who are said to have initiated certain tricks and styles. Yet in Dorothy Baker's comparatively recent novel, *Young Man with a Horn*, in which the central figure purports to be Bix, the latter is represented as having learned his trade from a certain great Negro trumpeter and as having got his professional start on the recommendation of a Negro bandleader.

I knew Bix and many others who are now legendary figures. I know that *always* when there were outstanding colored musicians with unusual styles playing anywhere, you'd find the white musicians on the sidelines, listening and taking mental notes. They flocked to hear Louis Armstrong. I have heard it said that Roy Bargy sat right down at the piano with Sammy Stewart to listen and learn. Roy Bargy also learned much from the late Johnny Waters and from Walter Johnson. I've also heard colored entertainers say that singers like Fannie Brice and Sophie Tucker used to go to the boardwalk in Atlantic City where songs were plugged in the old days, and listen to colored singers like Mattie Hyte and Mary Stafford. Many are the white stars of the dance world who have paid for lessons with colored dancers in order to acquire the elements of their styles. And Eddie Cantor once told Noble Sissle that the greatest lessons he ever had came from Bert Williams, and that if Williams were alive today nobody could surpass him on the radio.

I am fairly sure that colored musicians first started using buckets, derbies, and plungers; and I am under the impression that "Battleaxe" and Buddy Gilmore were the ones to originate the spectacular type of drumming still in vogue. The Negro also contributed the art of spontaneous improvisation. Nowadays there are special players for this purpose, called "ride" or "take-off" or "tear-out" men, in contrast to the "straight" men who play what is written. Many of the tricks now in general use in the brasses were started by colored players. After all, one must remember that in the days before Paul Whiteman recognized the commercial possibilities of jazz for the white musicians, it was an accepted fact that the greater percentage of dance bands in most parts of the country were colored bands. Therefore, it must also be accepted that they did the spade-work while the later musicians contributed what might be termed a refining influence.

Question of Plagiarism

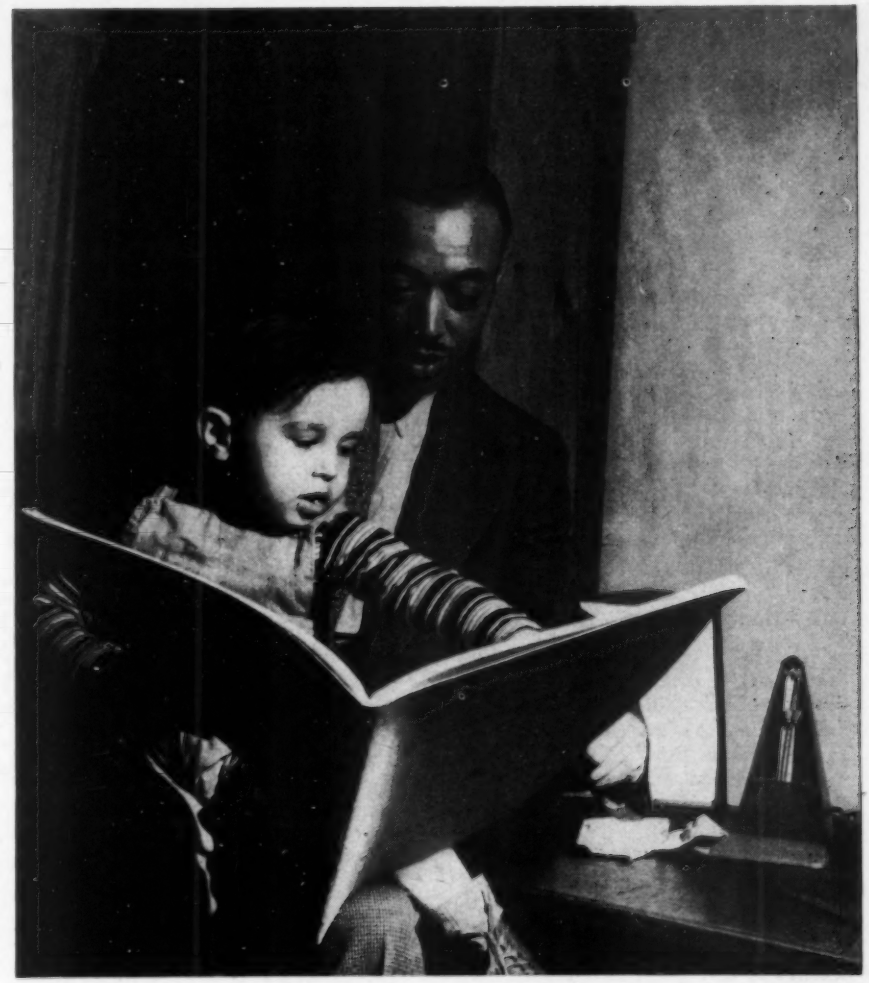
When one comes to the question of plagiarism, one is indeed treading on dangerous ground. For, once a thing is successful, whether it be music or anything else, there will always be scores of individuals perfectly willing to assure anyone who cares to listen that it was their invention, bought from them for a pittance and exploited by the other fellow. Quite often colored musicians claim to have had their creations or their styles stolen from them by white artists. In many cases these tales may be dismissed as baseless rantings. But there have been so many instances in which they are justified that one cannot ignore all of them. I have learned this from my own experience and from the experiences of my friends in the world of music.

Years after I had left New York, I heard some of my own arrangements over the radio, parading under the pseudonym then being used by the man who had employed me as an arranger over a long period of time. I had naturally been paid for every arrangement, but there was certainly no agreement that in accepting such payment I was selling my identity as arranger. No financial remuneration can pay a man amply for anonymity. On a subsequent radio program I heard an announcer say that this same former employer of mine had *originated* a style of orchestration that has since been widely copied in American music when, as far as I knew, he has never made an orchestration in his life and had depended on me even to select many of the compositions to be orchestrated.

In 1937 there died in Hollywood a man by the name of Theron C. Bennett. Did you ever hear of him? The newspaper obituaries said he was "known as 'the Father of the Blues' from the popularity of the many blues songs be published." Everybody knows, of course, that the man who is really known as "the Father of the Blues" is our own W. C. Handy. This Mr. Bennett, it turned out, was the man who bought the tune of the "Memphis Blues" from Handy and exploited it for his own gain.

When songwriters have a hard time getting a start they very often sell part of their rights to recognized writers. The René brothers (Leon and Otis) did this, and now are in a position to help other newcomers. Throughout the years there have been tales that at least one leading white American songwriter, author of numerous hits, has been accustomed to buy his songs from colored musicians. I think this story may very well be true, as the man in question is known to be a one-finger pianist, and I have always wondered how such a meager musical equipment could permit anyone to be so outstanding in the musical field as the newswriters claim that this man is. The same story is circulated about one of the top Negro bandleaders with reference to the members of his orchestra. It also seems to me that some claim was made by a colored pianist concerning the authorship of the song, "Stormy Weather".

Fred Waring learned his theme song from Stape Wright, whose band was very popular at the time Waring was attending college. Waring was in a school band when Stape Wright's band came to play for a dance at his college. Wright had the band play over this tune for Waring several times until he had memorized it. According to Chauncey Lee, Waring later admitted this in print.



William Grant Still and his son. *Black Star*

These are recurrent rumors, which come often and from many sources. I do not know whether they are true because I was not present at each transaction. Nonetheless, from many years of experience in the commercial world I think it is reasonable to conclude that a good number of the popular tunes we hear and enjoy came from the creative brains of colored musicians, even when they are not so listed. (Here a digression to another phase of the musical world may be apropos. You know, of course, that very often screen stars have the voices of other singers "dubbed" for theirs on the screen, so that they appear to be singing when they are not. Two of the singers most often used for this sort of work are colored girls: Lois Hodnett and Margeurite Chapman.)

There is a tendency among younger and sharper musicians to say, "Well, if 'Fats' Waller (or anyone else) sold such and such a tune, it was a perfectly legal transaction, probably indicating that the seller was not as astute as he should have been, and he should not now cry over spilt milk." I do not intend, by mentioning such things, to protest against the practice, to censure anyone for giving his products away, or even to criticize the person who takes advantage of him. Rarely in history has there been a genuine creator who has had enough business acumen to build a fortune for himself, and I leave it to someone wiser than myself to decide whether a successful exploiter can be blamed for his ability to recognize a hit tune on sight and for availing himself of the opportunity to capitalize on it, whether or not it is to the creator's ultimate advantage.

The musician's sources for his music? They have not been Negroes alone, for American music in the broad sense should and does represent all of America. All races have had a part in it. But

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A Declaration by Negro Voters

THE Negro voter has not yet chosen sides for 1944.

His vote cannot be purchased by distributing money to and through party hacks. It cannot be won by pointing to jobs given to few individual Negroes, although the recognition of the Negro as an integral part of the body politic through the selection of qualified Negroes for appointive or elective offices is included among the Negro's demands. The Negro vote no longer can be won by meaningless generalities in party platforms which are promptly forgotten on election day.

A yardstick for the measurement of political parties and candidates by Negro voters in 1944 was formulated and signed in New York City November 20 by twenty-seven representatives of twenty national organizations. The meeting was held at the invitation of the NAACP. This gathering of so many important leaders far in advance of a presidential election is unprecedented and was spurred by the keen interest of Negro voters in the forthcoming political struggle

Full Citizenship Demanded

The Negro voter will support a political party which by words and deeds shows its determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged people in this country. The Negro knows that his voting strength in 17 or more states with 281 or more votes in the electoral college gives him the potential balance of power in any reasonably close national election and in many state and local elections. His vote no longer belongs to any one political party. Although the Negro has largely supported the Democratic Party in recent years, it is highly significant that in 1943 the Negro vote played an important part in the election of a Negro Communist to the New York City Council, a Negro Republican as Judge in the same community, a Democratic mayor in Cleveland and a Republican Governor in Kentucky with phenomenal manifestations of independent voting in many other important centers. Public officers who have not made a record of liberal and democratic action may expect the Negro to help remove them from office. If their successors are no better, they may expect the same fate at the next election. For if the Negro does not always find any satisfactory candidate to support, he can and will continue to help remove unsatisfactory officials until truly democratic forces shall come into power.

The undersigned are officers of church, fraternal, labor, civic and educational organizations with a total membership of more than 6,000,000. Though we speak as individuals, we shall recommend to the membership of our respective organizations that Negroes shall measure all appeals for their support made by political parties and by presidential and other candidates according to the following yardstick:

War Chief Issue

The Negro people, like all other Americans, recognize the war as the chief issue confronting our country. We demand of any political party desiring the support of Negroes a vigorous prosecution of the war. We are opposed to any negotiated peace as advocated by the Hitler-like forces within our country. Victory must crush Hitlerism both at home as well as abroad.

In evaluating the merits of parties and candidates we must include all issues—those touching the life of Negroes as a group as well as those affecting the entire country. The party or candidate who refuses to help control prices, or fails to support the extension of social security, or refuses to support a progressive public program for full post war employment, or opposes an enlarged and unsegregated program of government-financed housing, or seeks to destroy organized labor, is as much the enemy of the Negro as is he who would prevent the Negro from voting.

Franchise Without Restrictions

We insist upon the right to vote in every state, unrestricted by poll taxes, white democratic primaries, the gerrymandering of districts, or any other device designed to disfranchise the Negro and other voters. Any political party in power, or aspiring to power, must demonstrate its determination through legislation and through vigorous criminal prosecution by the Department of Justice to protect and secure voting as a fundamental right of citizenship.

The ever-serious evil of lynching and mob violence has become more critical as a result of unrestrained violence against Negroes in the armed services. No national administration can merit the support of the Negro unless it is committed to a legislative and administrative program for the elimination of this national disgrace.

Both Parties Remiss

Republican and Democratic members of the Senate alike have attempted to delude us by alleging that they favor anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, and other legislation against which filibusters by southern Democrats have been waged but on which these Republican and Democratic Senators, from states where Negroes vote, refuse to vote for cloture. We refuse to accept such subterfuges any longer. A vote against cloture or failure to vote for cloture will be construed by us as opposition to whatever legislation for the benefit of the Negro and other minorities against which a filibuster is waged. The Senate rule requiring a two-thirds majority to end debate, combined with the refusal of senators to vote for cloture, is one of the greatest obstacles to liberal legislation in general and to legislation for the betterment of the Negro's status in particular. Negroes insist that national parties and individual candidates for senator pledge in advance their support to the abolition of this two-thirds rule now required for cloture.

The program now being carried on through the Fair Employment Practice Committee to secure and protect the right to work without racial or religious discrimination must be continued and expanded during and after the war. No party or candidate for the Presidency or Congress can deserve the vote of the Negro without supporting a liberal appropriation for a Fair Employment Practice Committee when that issue shall be presented in the spring of 1944 and such legislation as

is needed further to secure the right of minorities to work without discrimination.

The Armed Services

No injustice embitters Negroes more than continued segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. The policy of the present administration with reference to the Negro in the armed forces is bad in principle and has failed. Any party which hopes to win the support of Negroes must adopt a new and democratic program for their integration into the armed forces, including the following provisions:

Full integration of the Negro into the armed forces without segregation.

The abolition of quotas by race in the medical corps, the nurse corps, the technical and all other branches of service throughout the armed forces.

A vigorous and purposeful program of education in decent and democratic race relations to be carried out throughout the Army and Navy.

A radically revised Navy program which will include the acceptance of Negroes as commissioned officers, the use of Negroes in general and technical service on seagoing vessels, the elimination of restrictions preventing capable messmen from transfer and promotion out of that service and the acceptance of Negro women in the WAVES, SPARS, and nurse corps without segregation.

The abolition of segregation in recreational and other facilities at army posts and naval shore installations as well as the abolition of segregation of blood plasma for the armed services.

The progressive removal of Negro troops from those areas where they are treated with violence, abuse, and disrespect in the civilian community in view of the demonstrated inability of the federal authorities, military and civil, to cope with such behavior.

Negroes now largely denied the right to serve in combat forces must be given the same opportunity as others to serve in this field as well as all other branches of the service.

We are concerned that this war bring to an end imperialism and colonial expolitation. We believe that political and economic democracy must displace the present system of exploitation in Africa, the West Indies, India, and all other colonial areas. We insist that all parties and candidates formulate a foreign policy which will resolutely and unequivocally oppose either perpetuation or extension of exploitation based upon "white superiority" or economic or political advantage to "white" nations at the expense of the two-thirds of the people of the earth who are brown, yellow, or black of skin. The United States must point the way by including Negroes among its representatives at the peace conference or peace conferences and among its diplomatic, technical, and professional experts engaged in international post war reconstruction.

Negro Americans are fully aware of the forces in this country which are now attempting to effect the nomination of reactionary or vacillating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in both major political parties.

Negro voters are also distrustful of most candidates who come from those states which deny Negroes opportunity to vote and confine them to rigid patterns of segregation and inferior status. No candidate from any section of the country will be acceptable to Negro voters unless he has clearly demonstrated opposition to and departure from the prevailing anti-Negro traditions.

We hereby serve notice that if either major political party shall nominate for President or Vice-President a candidate of vacillating or reactionary character, or with an anti-Negro record, it will be vigorously opposed by the Negro vote.

We repudiate all venal politicians, Negro and white, who attempt for personal profit to "deliver the Negro vote". We hereby serve notice that the Negro has come of age politically.

This statement is designed both to make clear the Negro's present attitude of resentment against the shortcomings of both major political parties and to serve as a guide in measuring the future intentions of parties and candidates. The first test of the honesty of these intentions will be the vote upon the pending poll tax bill and cloture, if necessary; and we serve notice on all Senators and their party associates that we will vigorously oppose all Senators who refuse to vote for cloture on this bill. We call upon enlightened labor, church, farm, and other groups to oppose actively the current wave of reaction. We will combine on a minimum program with such enlightened groups. Together these groups constitute a majority of the electorate. Together we will beat back the tide of reaction and build a more decent world now and in the post war years which can insure a durable peace.

Signed:

Elsie Austin, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

Mary McLeod Bethune, National Council of Negro Women

Dr. R. A. Billings, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity

Oscar Brown, Chicago, Illinois, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Dorothy Hobday Bryant, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc.

Walter Hardin, International Representative, United Automobile Workers-CIO

Judge William H. Hastie, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Dr. D. V. Jemison, National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc., and Alabama Baptist State Convention, Inc.

Carl R. Johnson, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity

Belford V. Lawson, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity

Dr. Rayford W. Logan, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity

Z. Alexander Looby, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity

Thurgood Marshall, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

George W. Millner, International Longshoremen's Association

Leslie Perry, Washington Bureau NAACP

Adam C. Powell, Jr., People's Committee

A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and March on Washington Movement

Dr. Leon A. Ransom

Mabel K. Staupers, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, Inc.

Ferdinand Smith, National Maritime Commission

Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Social Action Commitee of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church

Ashley Totten, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Bishop W. J. Walls, AME Zion Church

George L-P Weaver, National CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination

Beulah Whitby, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority

Walter White, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Dr. Max Yergan, International Commitee on African Affairs and National Negro Congress

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Boston Proposes International USO

A proposed international USO has been approved by the trustees of the Boston USO committee. The proposed club is the outgrowth of a fight by Ray W. Guild to have colored hostesses serve in the Buddies club on the Common without limitations. After the Buddies club refused to agree to these terms, the colored hostesses were withdrawn by Guild's committee, and a proposal was made that an international USO club be built to be open to all races.

Heart Against the Wind

By Gwendolyn Williams

An expectant mother muses on the past and the future of American life and what it means to her unborn child

NO PART of the day is more beautiful than the twilight with its faint tinge of gold left by the sun as it disappeared beyond the horizon. It brings a quietness that rests the very soul; it distills a gentleness upon the world that is the magic of dancing stars and another new moon.

Lys sat at her desk by the window and gazed raptly at the evening sky. It would be dark in another hour; then that lovely pale sky would become inky so that the stars would be as specks of glistening metal and the moon would be all silvery in her flight across the heavens. It would be dark, and she'd be alone again. Alone for how many more nights?

Lys's expression changed, and her eyes fell on the letter she had just written Stephen. Stephen! How glad she would be when he came home again. How different she hoped the word "home" would be then. . . .

Dearest Stephen:

"How's everything with you? Where are you? Don't tell me; I know. You're far off in a strange land where you will see many wonderful things probably both beautiful and horrid, and I won't be there to share them all with you. You're sorry, aren't you? I wish I were there beside you wading through the mud or whatever it is you wade through at any time.

I didn't write to say that though. I am writing to make an announcement: We are going to have a baby. I waited this long to tell you, because I had to be absolutely certain. And, Stephen, forgive me for being so cruel, but I don't want it. Doesn't that sound bad! You are shocked; I can see the sad shame for me creep into your eyes; then I see you catch your head with your hands as you number the reasons why I should be one of the happiest women in the world. Of course. I picture the whole thing.

So much as happened to change me! You long to know why I don't want our child. First of all he has no heritage. Stephen, a heritage is more than an innate quality—it's a birthright. He has no birthright, he's a little black boy. He can be anything. A doctor, lawyer, business man, or even an actor or a preacher. He might be a teacher or pull people's teeth without giving them gas. But there are other things; those possibilities must run parallel with hate, prejudice, and any outrage that might occur. If all the unkindness in existence could be erased—

Secondly, he has no country. No, don't take that literally. I suppose what I mean is does his country want him. His ancestor died with the scars of chains and whips upon them, but that was yesterday, and yesterday is dead. Today is important, Stephen. Through the years black men have proved themselves to the country, but the country . . . to be honest, the people of the country have never thanked them for their faithfulness.

The oration at Gettysburg has lived through the ages as a masterpiece; yet those words delivered so hopefully have not had much meaning for the stepcitizens of our counrty. Shall we listen to our son recite them some day? Of course! And he shall weep over their futility?

He shall grow up observing the Fourth of July. Truly, we will never tell him that independence is a reality for some and a lie for others. No! We shall hang out the proud flag and pledge allegiance to it. Independence is freedom, so maybe by the time he is eighteen he will be free. A black boy's freedom is measured out by teaspoonsful.

He shall swear by his constitutional rights. He can lick any man who dares him to board a trolley or demands that he sit in the back of a train. He shall spit in the face of fear and want; he shall worship as he chooses whom he chooses, and he shall say what he pleases to say and to the right people. I'm laughing, Stephen.

Gettysburg, July the Fourth, and constitutional rights are ashes. The people who read them have made them so. They have degraded the words associated with them so that they are destroyed surely as if lighted by a match. There was no speech, no declaration; the bill of rights is a hoax. Because it does not work both ways.

Stephen, why are you fighting? It boils down to the fact that you are on a foreign soil to free the enslaved peoples of a foreign land while at home they step in the faces of your brothers. A man can be murdered for no other reason than he is black. We are slaves of a modern age. Who will free us this time that there is no Lincoln and no states seceding from the Union? And we won't stoop to violence because we are a few. And we acknowledge the good privileges we have been permitted.

What difference does it make about the color of a man's skin? A man's a man in spite of that—with ambition, passion, and blood flowing in his veins. All men have a head with hair upon it until neglect or age eats away the roots; and eyes, a nose, a mouth; also every normal body is a trunk with the corect appendages attached. All men have that whether they are white, black, brown, red or foreign. Strip one at random and prove it for yourself.

And women. A woman is subject to the same dangers when she conceives a child and again when she is in labor in spite of her color. The babe in her womb is recipient of the same opportunities to be perfect or afflicted.

All men spring from the same source. Sure, and all men die. There is evidence that no man is superior to another; if he were, his progeny would inherit the earth, and he would be as God with life everlasting.

Oh, Stephen! I would rather destroy this child and go to hell than to deliver it into a world like this where those who cry democracy and are so prolix in their love of freedom are reeking with hypocrisy. He will have friends, our son, but he will also have foes. And, Stephen, could he fight them.

I'd rather he never know the anguish of being black, nor the pride—nor the injustice of being an unsung hero."

Tears stole down Lys's cheeks. She crushed the paper; it dropped short of the wastebasket and made a slight thud on the floor. There it lay until the wind, blowing in the open window, chased it into a corner.

Lys sighed. She lifted another mail form from the box, dipped her pen in the ink. She studied the blank paper for a while. She must write against the thoughts in her heart. Stephen had

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

BROOKLYN CRIME "SMEAR": In December the NAACP through its executive secretary, Walter White, requested permission of Judge Nathan R. Sobel to allow prominent New Yorkers to address the Kings County grand jury on the recent presentment on racial crime in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn, known locally as "Little Harlem." Judge Sobel then invited Henry Ashcroft, probation officer of Special Sessions and a well-known Brooklyn Negro citizen, to address the December panel—an unprecedented action. Judge Sobel told the NAACP he felt that what Mr. Ashcroft would say, and what he, himself, would tell the jury, would help clear the atmosphere.

Mr. Ashcroft said that a number of misstatements had been made at the meeting of the Midtown Civic League on November 21 and added:

"The colored people residing in the real Bedford-Stuyvesant district had their pride hurt, their sensibilities wounded, their intelligence overlooked and their daily livelihood endangered as a result of the incisive and acid language of the August grand jury."

The presentment on crime in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn was first made by the July panel of the Kings County grand jury, which charged the LaGuardia administration with failure to check the "lawlessness in Brooklyn's 'Little Harlem.'" The August grand jury, a holdover from the July panel, repeated the charges. And they have stirred New Yorkers as have few events in recent years because the presentment was obviously a political attack on Mayor LaGuardia, and a racial attack on Negroes generally. So fierce was the reaction that Judge Sobel himself felt moved to analyze the crime record of the Bedford-Stuyvesant area.

In his remarks on the August grand jury presentment, Judge Sobel said:

> The inherent danger in the presentment—a danger which is far greater than the evil to be corrected—is that, not in words but in effect, it indicts an entire people for the faults of a very, very few. It places the great body of decent, law-abiding Negroes in a most humiliating position; it stirs up resentment, hatred and fear.

Judge Sobel then pointed out that in 1943 only 220 Negroes had been convicted of felonies committed in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, constituting less than one-fifth of one percent of the youth and adult population. Convictions for all crimes show that Negroes constitute less than one percent.

Commenting on the influx of Negroes from the south, Judge Sobel said:

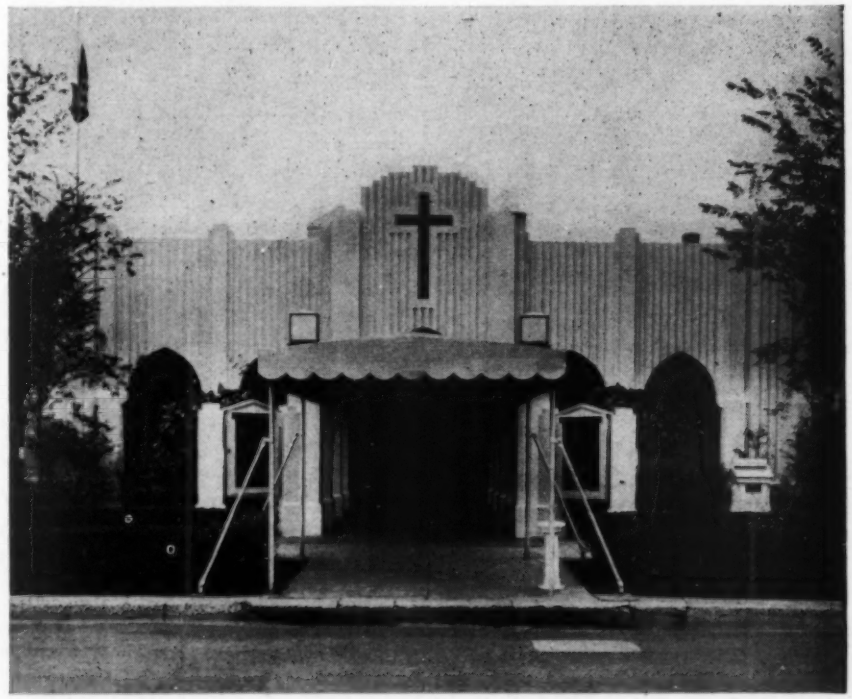
> What are we to do about it? Are we to erect a fence around the Bedford-Stuyvesant? I think we have enough. We have welcomed our Negro brethren from the cabins in the south to the slums of New York. We have extended to them the privilege of paying the highest rents for the rottenest roosts out of the poorest wages for the dirtiest jobs. Now let us deny them relief! Let's punish the poor for being poor and the ignorant for being ignorant! Maybe we can create a smoke screen that will hide the real culprits—ourselves.

The remedy, he went on, is to build more schools, playgrounds, churches, child-welfare agencies, to eradicate the slums. "And if only for our consciences sake," he concluded, "we can try to wipe out discrimination, prejudice and social inequalities."

TENNESSEE TEACHERS SUE FOR EQUAL PAY: The Jackson Colored Teachers Association, of Jackson, Tenn., with one hundred percent of the teachers signing the complaint, has filed suit in the court of U. S. District Judge Marion Speed Boyd asking equal salaries with white teachers and for back pay. The defendants are the City Commission and superintendent of education, C. B. Ijams. The teachers, through their attorneys, claim that the policy, custom, or usage by which Negro teachers of the same qualifications and experience, performing essentially the same duties as white teachers, are paid a lower salary is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the Tennessee constitution, as well as state and federal laws.

The teachers are asking this custom to be forever outlawed and that a Special Master be appointed "to ascertain and report on the amount of back salary due to plaintiffs or which plaintiffs would have been paid were it not for the unconstitutional discrimination herein complained of." The complaint further states that on October 29, 1943, the plaintiffs through their attorney,

Cosmopolitan Community Church, Chicago, Ill.



This church now has 916 NAACP members in its congregation. Rev. Mary G. Evans, pastor, had her members come to the altar to pray for the success of the Association as they subscribed for membership.

filed a petition on behalf of themselves and other colored teachers asking that the discriminatory salary scale be set aside, but that "all of the defendants have ignored plaintiffs' petition and have not favored plaintiffs or their attorney with the courtesy of a reply."

Attorneys for the teachers are Z. Alexander Looby, of Nashville, Tenn.; Leon A. Ransom and William H. Hastie, Washington, D. C.; Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the NAACP, New York; and A. A. Latting of Memphis, Tenn.

93RD DIVISION INTACT: In reply to a query of the NAACP asking if the 93rd Division had been broken up and its units assigned to guard duty along the Pacific coast, Maj. Gen. J. A. Ulio, the Adjutant General, reports in a letter that this rumor "has no basis in fact." "This Division is at the present time," wrote Gen. Ulio, "undergoing intensive training at the California-Arizona Maneuver Area. While I cannot, for obvious reasons, advise you of the plans which the War Department has for this Division, you may be assured that suitable use will be made of this unit at the appropriate time."

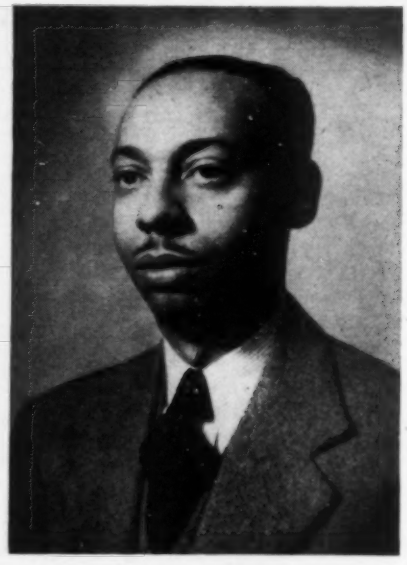
LEGISLATIVE FRAUD: Calling the Senate action on the soldier vote bill, which would leave the franchise for service men in the hands of the states, a "shameless fraud," the NAACP has urged upon House leaders the passage of the original Worley bill, HR 3436, not the "compromise version" of the Worley bill.

The Worley bill is identical with the Lucas-Greene bill which the Senate bypassed. It would give the federal government supervision over absentee balloting by men and women in the services.

In telegrams to majority leader John W. McCormack and minority leader Joseph W. Martin, the NAACP asked that the Rankin substitute bill be defeated. McCormack and Martin were asked particularly to see that poll tax is waived on the balloting by soldiers.

"Only seven state legislatures are scheduled to met prior to the 1944 elections," said the NAACP wire, "while forty-one legislatures are not due to meet until January, 1945, or later." It was pointed out that ten percent of the persons in uniform are Negroes and it was charged that the chief opponents of the federal voting bill (Congressman Rankin and Senator Eastland, both of Mississippi) are working primarily to keep Negro soldiers from voting, and "thus white soldiers and sailors are being disenfranchised to keep Negroes from voting."

Executive Secretary



Harry J. Walker is the recently appointed full-time executive secretary of the Chicago, Ill. branch. His appointment marks a high point in the expansion of the activities of this branch.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS NAACP: Dr. James L. Spencer of Albany, N. Y., has sent a check for $1,000 to the NAACP to pay for life memberships for himself and his wife, Rita Stoney Spencer. Dr. Spencer wrote: "We know personally what the mistreatment of the race has been for the past thirty years. We feel that we are performing our basic duty in so aiding this, the one organization working openly and in a scientific manner for the rights justly due us. These life memberships do not mean a cessation of our efforts for complete freedom. We shall continue the fight as long as there is anything to fight for."

PATTERSON PROBES RAPE: As a result of an NAACP letter, Robert P. Patterson, under secretary of war, has requested a "full report" on the conviction and life imprisonment of privates Edward R. Lowry and Frank Fisher, Jr., on a charge of raping Louise Mounien, a New Caledonia woman.

Lowry and Fisher, who were attached to the 211th Port Battalion stationed in New Caledonia, were found guilty by a general courts-martial of violating the 92nd Article of War, dishonorably discharged from the service, and ordered to be confined at hard labor for life. They are now in the United States penitentiary at McNeil Island, Washington.

In a letter to Judge Patterson, Leslie Perry of the NAACP Washington bureau, states that Miss Mounien was in a parked jeep on the night of May 2, 1943, in company with Lieutenant Robert L. Engel. The record is said to show that Lowry, Fisher, and another enlisted man aproached the couple and made "a proposition" to Miss Mounien and that thereafter she had relations with them and accepted money. The letter also states that not only did the alleged victim raise no objection to the "proposition," but that she made no outcry at the moment or later. Moreover, it is asserted, after the alleged rape took place all parties concerned engaged in friendly conversation. In conclusion the NAACP letter says: "These reasons and others inherent in the records, make it evident that this was not a case of rape and therefore life imprisonment should not be the penalty. We strongly urge a re-examination of the case in order to avert a serious miscarriage of justice."

COAST SHIPYARD WORKERS: The case in which Negro workers at the Marinship shipyards are seeking a permanent injunction restraining the Boilermakers union from interfering with their employment was argued in San Francisco, Cal., December 13 before federal Judge Michael J. Roche. The case, scheduled for December 6, was postponed one week at the request of the attorneys for the Boilermakers union. Among the attorneys who appeared at court were Anderson and Resner, for Joseph James and sixteen other workers; Thurgood Marshall, for the NAACP; and Bartley Crum for the National Lawyers Guild.

The question at issue was whether an auxiliary jim crow union gives the same protection and privileges to Negro workers as the "regular" Boilermakers union. Marshall argued that the jim crow auxiliary, a favorite device of AFL craft unions, was in reality a "captive" lodge which has no power except as it operates through the "white" local to which it is attached. He asserted that Negro workers, therefore, were unprotected in their rights as workers and could not be required to join the auxiliary as a condition of employment.

The Negro workers and their counsel are stressing the fact that this action by the Boilermakers union is impeding the war effort and giving aid and comfort particularly to the Japanese who are using the incident in their radio propaganda to the countries of Asia.

DEFIANCE OF FEPC CALLED SABOTAGE: In a letter to President Roosevelt, the NAACP pointed out that the defiance of sixteen southern railroads on the directive of the FEPC that dis-

crimination in the employment of Negroes must be ended was "sabotage of the war effort little short of treason." The NAACP also pointed out that there were in the letter of the railroads to the FEPC "two thinly-veiled threats of mob violence" to thwart the provisions of Executive Order 9346. Blasting the statement of the companies that "conditions of chaos" will result if Negroes are employed, the letter states that this idea is being planted deliberately in the minds of the traveling public 'for sinister and undemocratic purposes." And in conclusion the letter urged the President to meet vigorously and unequivocally "this impudent challenge of your authority as President and as Comamnder-in-Chief of the Army and Navy," with the prediction that the overwhelming majority of the American people will give him unqualified support.

GOP WILL AID NEGRO (?): "The Republican party will again undertake its historic task of working for the betterment of the Negro people," after the defeat of the New Deal in 1944, is the opinion of Harrison E. Spangler, chairman of the Republican National Committee. This statement, contained in a letter to Walter White, NAACP secretary, was sharply challenged by White who pointed out that the present record of the Republicans in Congress has caused thoughtful Negroes of the United States to entertain very real doubts" of such action. White emphasized that the Hoover administrtaion particularly, as well as the administrations of Harding and Coolidge convinced Negroes that the GOP was not "working for the bettermen of the Negro people."

White also pointed out that the continued alliance in the present and recent Congresses of conservative northern Republicans and southern Democrats "has done and is doing infinite harm to the Negro."

Branch News

ALABAMA: The Mobile branch arranged a special program of spirituals by the Nightingale Quartette in connection with its meeting in November.

ARIZONA: The annual meeting of the Phoenix branch was held at the Lucy Phillips Methodist Episcopal Chapel November 21, and at the conclusion of the meeting officers were elected. In a communication to the city commission the branch asked why no colored bus drivers were employed in Phoenix. James L. Davis, president of the branch, and the Rev. James A. Moton spoke before the commission on the work Negroes are doing in the war effort and deprecated the treatment minority groups are receiving.

CALIFORNIA: Matt Crawford, assistant director of the California CIO council minorities committee, was the speaker at the November 14 meeting of the San Jose branch. His subject was "Detroit—A Blow to National Unity."

The Tulare branch elected the following officers at its November 16 meeting: Rev. A. N. Carter, president; Frank Erath, vice-president; Mrs. Billie Ashby, recording secretary; Mrs. L. J. Archer, treasurer; and Carl Young, corresponding secretary.

CONNECTICUT: Dr. Allen F. Jackson, president of the Hartford branch, addressed the Waterbury branch November 17 at the Pearl St. Neighborhood house. Dr. Jackson gave a resume of the activities of the Association and praised its members for their part in the program; he stressed three elements, organization, education, and cooperation, as guiding posts for the success of the NAACP.

Dr. Joyce Yerwood was re-elected president of the Greenwich branch at the November 15 meeting held in the Crispus Attucks center. A program featuring a series of phonograph records by outstanding Negro artists and writers showing the Negro's contribution to art and literature were played.

The Norwalk branch gained three hundred members during the last year, and Dr. W. H. N. Johnson, who gave the impetus for the increased membership, was re-elected president. The executive board of the Norwalk branch met November 26 and outlined plans for increasing its membership.

The annual election of the Hartford branch took place at the Women's League December 1. Both white and Negro members of the branch were present and the various committee chairmen gave their reports. Dr. A. F. Jackson was elected president; Miss N. McMillan and Mrs. Delores Swett, vice-presidents; W. R. Burden, secretary; Eugene Shaw, treas-

NAACP Skit Detroit Mardi Gras

The Detroit branch presented a skit, "Miss America and the Four Freedoms," in the AKA Mardi Gras, October 30. Front row: Mrs. Ruth Ellis and Miss Irene Ellis; standing (from left to right) Nathaniel Ribraun, Miss Etta Hurley, "Miss America," and Edgar Ellis.

urer; and Miss Betty Shepard, assistant secretary. A series of round table discussions on "What Hartford Negroes Have Done and Are Doing" is scheduled for branch meetings during January, February, and March, the first Wednesday of each month. A prominent social worker will lead each discussion.

The Bridgeport branch on December 9 presented Beatrice C. Hickson, Yellow Mill Village resident and war worker at McKesson and Robbins, in a benefit recital. Mrs. Inez Holley, organist at the Messiah Baptist church, was the accompanist.

On November 26 the Stamford branch held its annual meeting in the Union Baptist church for the purpose of receiving reports and electing officers.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: At the annual election of the Washington branch the Rev. Arthur D. Gray was re-elected president and Judge William H. Hastie vice-president. Mr. Gray's annual report covered the activities of the branch affecting race relations, organizational extension, and legal assistance in cases of racial discrimination and police brutality. The branch enrollment now exceeds five thousand. Other officers of the branch are Mrs. Theresa Russell, second vice-president; Roy Garvin, secretary; Miss Florence Phillips, assistant secretary; and Thomas Frazier, treasurer.

GEORGIA: The members of the Atlanta branch planned and carried through a mammoth Emancipation Day celebration under the supervision of C. L. Harper, branch president.

ILLINOIS: The appointment of Harry J. Walker by the board of directors of the Chicago branch as a fulltime executive secretary marks a high point in the expansion of the activities of this branch. For years the increased activities of the branch, according to Oscar C. Brown, president, have pointed to the need for a fulltime secretary. Mr. Walker brings to his office a broad background of experience and training in race relations. He is a native of Pennsylvania and was educated at Oberlin College, Fisk University, and the University of Chicago. He has had experience as a teacher in Leland College, La., and in Howard University, and he has also done research into the social problems of the Negro in all sections of the country.

On November 21 Oscar C. Brown, president of the Chicago branch, was the principal speaker at a public mass meeting held under the auspices of the Lake County branch.

A meeting of the newly elected officers of the Springfield branch was held November 16 at the Urban League. The new officers are Dr. D. E. Webster, president; Rev. William R. Stewart, vice-president; Mrs. R. Jeanette Ivy, secretary; Mrs. Helen Hubbard, assistant secretary; and George W. Wells, treasurer.

A conference of white and Negro leaders held a three-day study of unions, war plants, and governmental agencies in the East St. Louis area under the sponsorship of the East St. Louis branch. These conferences began November 20 and attracted a representative panel of speakers and citizens.

The Maywood branch held its election of officers November 21, electing the fololwing persons: Peter L. Walton, re-elected president for his third consecutive term; Emiel Black, first vice-president; Rev. Robert Brown, second vice-president; Mrs. Lilian Bailey, secretary; and Mrs. Josephine Singleton, assistant secretary.

Since Maywood is situated near a large number of defense plants, Mr. Walton has made it the goal of his branch to raise the standard of living of the people in Maywood and vicinity. The branch has also been successful in its efforts to have more Negroes employed in local industries, and can report that more than one thousand colored men and women have been given jobs by the Buick plant alone. Another aim of the branch is to secure the enrollment in the NAACP of every Negro family in Maywod and nearby villages.

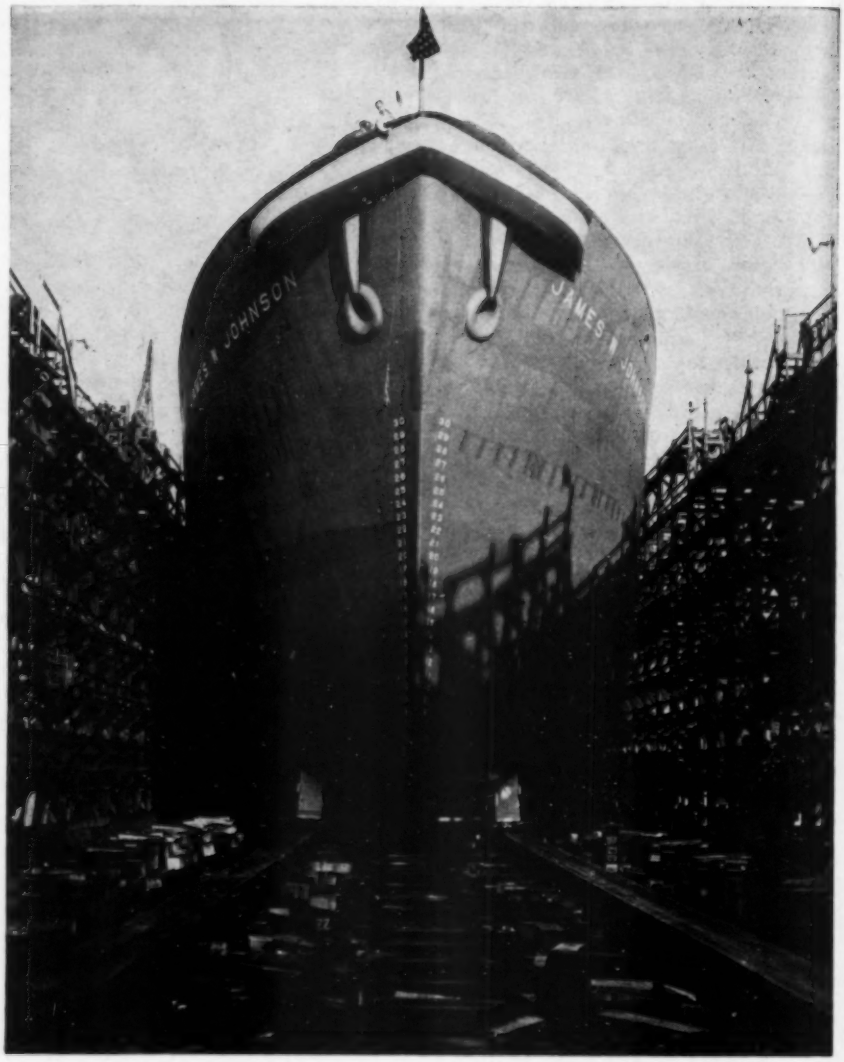
The annual meeting of the tri-city branch, Moline, was held in the St. Paul's AME church November 9. The following officers were elected: Leon R. Harris, president; John Allston, first vice-president; Wiliam Bishop, second vice-president; Mrs. Sarah Davis, third vice-president; Virginia Moss, secretary; and William Maxie, treasurer. These officers were installed November 22 at a meeting held in the Wayman AME church, Rock Island.

IOWA: The Keokuk branch elected new officers at a meeting held in the Bethel AME church. William H. Smith was elected president; Clifton H. Ashby, first vice-president; Rev. T. E. Little, second vice-president; Rev. L. L. Johnson, third vice-president; Mrs. Ruth B. Toomes, secretary; Mrs. Myrtle Ashby, assistant secretary; and Miss Thelma V. Seals, chairman of finance committee and treasurer. Annual reports of the secretary and the treasurer were also read.

On November 13 the Des Moines branch cooperated with the Civil Liberties union in sponsoring the appearance of Norman Thomas at a public meeting in the local YMCA auditroium. The Des Moines branch has also been accepted as a member of the Adult Education council, made up of various civic organizations.

The Marshalltown branch held a public meeting November 21 in the Cumberland Presbyterian church where an educational program was given with members of the junior group participating. Miss Helen Louise Warn

SS James Weldon Johnson



Calif. Eagle photo

The Liberty ship SS James Weldon Johnson was launched December 12 at the yards of the California Shipbuilding Corporation. Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, editor of the CALIFORNIA EAGLE, *christened the vessel. Teacher, writer, poet, lawyer, diplomat, James Weldon Johnson was best known for his 14 years work as NAACP secretary.*

played a piano solo and Tom Johnson gave a reading. A panel discussion, led by Jane Johnson, was held on the subject, "The Negro in a World at War." Those participating in the discussion were George Johnson, Miss Dorothy Ragland, and Miss Maurice Longus. Mrs. Samuel Morrow, adviser for the Junior Youth Council, gave a report of the group's work, and S. Joe Brown of Des Moines, a member of the national board of directors of the NAACP, reviewed the history of the organization. Mrs. B. W. Howard, membership chairman, reported an increase in membership to a total of two hundred at the present time.

KANSAS: The Topeka branch was host to a statewide meeting of the branches of Kansas November 23 at the Ritz theatre. The purpose of the meeting was to effect a statewide organization of the association. Delegates from ten state NAACP branches met. Dr. A. Porter Davis of Kansas City was elected president; U. A. Graham of Topeka, treasurer; and the Rev. P. H. Hill of Shiloh Baptist church, a director.

The Newton branch held its annual election of officers at the Second Baptist church November 2. Samuel Ridley was re-elected president along with the following officers: Mrs. Sisroe Ethridge, vice-president; Mrs. R. O. Wagner, secretary; D. E. Brown, assistant secretary; and Joe Mewborn, treasurer.

KENTUCKY: The Louisville branch set a goal of 10,000 members in its membership drive under campaign chairman Lyman T. Johnson and Stephen A. Burnley. The Louisville branch has fought for equalization of salaries of Negro teachers in the public schools, killed two efforts of the city council and state legislature to pass jim-crow streetcar laws affecting Louisville, and is still fighting against segregation of Negroes in the city parks and other public places.

LOUISIANA: Daniel E. Byrd has been re-elected president of the New Orleans branch; other officers re-elected were Bennett B. Ross, vice-president; John Egana, treasurer; and Edna St. Cyr, secretary.

MARYLAND: Randall L. Tyus, executive secretary of the Baltimore branch, telegraphed Governor Herbert R. O'Conor of Maryland, November 11, asking his Honor to call a special session of the Maryland legislature to consider repeal of the Declaration of Intentions Act in order to remove the barrier which denies thousands of newcomers the franchise at the time of the next presidential and congressional elections. In reply Governor O'Conor pointed out that the present membership of the Maryland legislature had previously considered such a proposal and refused to repeal the statute in spite of the favorable attitude of the Maryland attorney general. "Of course, I would be inclined to look upon your request more favorably," wrote the Governor, "if I had definite assurances from a sufficient number of members of the General Assembly that they would, if called into session, repeal the law."

Dr. Mary Andrews, professor of religion at Goucher College, Baltimore, who is a member of the Maryland Race Relations committee, spoke November 21 at a meeting of the Annapolis branch. Other speakers were Miss Nannie Burroughs of Washington and John T. Chambers, local president of the NAACP.

MASSACHUSETTS: Julian D. Steele, executive director of the Armstrong Hemenway foundation, has been re-elected president of the Boston branch. Other officers re-elected were Dr. John B. Hall, first vice-president; Louis E. Pasco, Sr., secretary; and Nathaniel L. Cotton, treasurer. Other branch officers are Rev. Richard Owens, second vice-president; Mrs. Malcolm J. Lewis, third vice-president; and James H. Jones, financial secretary.

MICHIGAN: After expressing regret that racial bitterness had been injected into the recent Detroit mayoralty elections, the executive board of the Detroit branch pledged cooperation with Mayor Jeffries "in any program for the betterment of the community."

Officers for 1944 were named at the annual election held by the Grand Rapids branch at the St. Luke's AMEZ church November 21. William M. Glenn was elected president; Lonnie Cooper, vice-president; Mrs. Carl Thomasson, secretary; Mrs. Miles L. Woods, assistant secretary; and Mrs. George Huston, treasurer.

MINNESOTA: Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson, pastor of the Camphor Memorial Methodist church, has been re-elected president of the St. Paul branch. Other elected officers include: John M. Culver, first vice-president; Richard L. Stokes, second vice-president; Mrs. Alverta Coram, secretary; Cyrus L. Lewis, assistant secretary; and Mrs. Hazel Butler, treasurer.

MISSOURI: The St. Louis branch elected the following officers November 8: S. R. Redmond, president; J. E. Mitchell, vice-president; Oscar S. Ficklin, secretary; and Leonard J. Harris, treasurer. Listed among the branch accomplishments during the past year are the following: the establishment of the first public library set-up in a Negro school, the introduction of a civil rights bill in the Missouri assembly, intercession on behalf of numerous Negro soldiers at several camps, an FEPC investigation of racial discrimination in several local concerns, and success in getting Congress to establish a George Washington Carver memorial near Neosho, Mo., where Carver was born. The branch was also thanked by Dr. A. C. Phillips, principal of the Washington Technical school, for its part in making Murphy Park available to his school for football practice. The branch now has the largest membership in its history.

NEW JERSEY: On November 21 the Trenton branch elected the folowing officers for the ensuing year: Dr. H. J. Austin, president; Mrs. Bernice Munce, first vice-president; Mrs. Arthur Hancock, second vice-president; Peyton Manning, third vice-president; Mrs. Charles Broaddus, secretary; Mrs. Carolyn Kibble, assistant secretary; and C. L. Lynch, treasurer. A report of the fifth annual national Youth Conference held recently at Lincoln was given by the two official delegates, Misses Jean Harvey and Hilmar L. Jensen. The Trenton delegation was the largest at the conference.

Bravall Nesbitt, president of the Elizabeth branch, was one of the speakers at an interracial dinner and forum discussion of problems of discrimination held at the YMCA by the Unity for Victory league. Dr. S. Chadra-Sekhar, Hindu writer and lecturer, spoke at the November 21 meeting of the Elizabeth branch.

The Paterson branch met December 1 in the Colored Men's Association hall; hereafter this branch will meet the first Wednesday of the month instead of the fourth.

At the closing meeting of its membership campaign, the Camden branch reported 2748 members. Enthusiasm among the workers at the success of the campaign was so high that it was decided to up the goal to 3,000 members. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, national field secretary, directed the campaign with the assistance of Walter Gordon, Herbert Nix, Mrs. Katherine Johnson, and Mrs. George Dorsey. Officers of the Camden branch are Dr. U. S. Wiggins, president; Mrs. Juanita Dicks, secretary; and Shirley Baskerville, treasurer.

Judge Wiliam H. Hastie was guest speaker of the Camden branch at a lecture-meeting December 5 in the Temple Baptist church.

The Rahway-Carteret branch met December 7 at the home of Rev. and Mrs. J. W. P. Collier.

The Burlington County branch sponsored its first annual tea at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Charles F. Gibson December 5. The tea was under the guidance of joint committees of the organization, headed by Lucy Watson and Peel Poindexter of Burlington and Riverton, respectively.

The annual meeting of the Bridgeton branch for the election of officers was held at the John Wesley Methodist church December 7.

The USO recreation centre sponsored by the Princeton branch was formally opened in December with special exercises. Recognizing that the USO building on Mercer St. was inadequate for the increasing number of soldiers in and around Princeton, the branch decided that something must be done immediately. Therefore Dr. D. W. Anthony, president; Rev. W. T. Parker and Mrs. Otho Harmon were authorized to contact Mrs. Fleming, show her the need, and present the possibilities of the old Elks' home. Within a week of that time work was begun on the building; and within three weeks the building had been completely renovated inside, completely furnished, and was ready for use.

NEW YORK: An address by Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary of the NAACP, featured the second annual dinner of the Troy branch November 11.

Declaring that "guns have never solved the cause of racial disorders anywhere and will certainly not solve them in Greenburgh," the White Plains branch commended the Greenburgh town council for postponing action on police chief Philip J. McQuillan's request for the purchase of sub-machine guns.

Albert Baker Lewis of the Schenectady branch was speaker on the Fredeom Forum December 6 at Memorial chapel of Union college.

"Education and the Problems of the Minorities" was discussed by Dr. Herbert C. Clish, superintendent of schools, at the November meeting of the New Rochelle branch.

Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, spoke to the Ithaca branch November 28 on "The Negro, Democracy's Test Case."

The Ossining branch has recommended to the proper authorities the abandonment of the Hunter Street playground in favor of a better site. Situated on the east side of Hunter Street, the playground has only a small level area and slopes into sharp hillside. Approximately one hundred children use the playground each day during the summer months.

The Niagara Falls branch held a musicale and tea November 7 in the asesmbly hall at Center court, with more than one hundred fifty guests and members present.

At the annual meeting of the Staten Island branch held in the Shiloh church, the following officers were elected: De Hart, president; Mrs. Drucilla Pool and Nathan Dujon, vice-president; Mrs. Alice Johnson and Mrs. Katherine Butler, secretaries; Mrs. Nathan Dujon, treasurer; and Rev. C. Asapansa-Johnson, chaplain.

Vito Marcantonio was one of the speakers at a monster mass meeting sponsored by the New York branch at the Golden Gate ballroom November 21.

OHIO: A "Hold Your Job" campaign has been instituted by the Cincinnati branch as outgrowth of a mass meeting held in October on the problems of manpower employment in war industries.

On October 30 the Oxford branch sponsored

How's That For Muscle, Pal?

Two year old Johnnie inspects the muscles of his little white chum, Tommie, at the James Whitcomb Riley Hospital in Indianapolis, Indiana, where they have been receiving the Kenny treatment for infantile paralysis for nine months. Such cases are aided by the President's annual birthday parties and the annual March of Dimes.

a well-attended Halloween fete at which James Coague, a Cincinnati YMCA official, was the principal speaker. The Oxford branch has more than one hundred thirteen members of both races.

A resolution charging discrimination in employment of Negroes on the assembly lines and in skilled trades involving vital war production was adopted November 26 by a joint committee of the Dayton branch and United Labor. Copies of the resolution were sent to the USES, the WMC, and the FEPC.

OKLAHOMA: A formal resolution passed by the Oklahoma conference of the NAACP, held recently in Tulsa, asked for the elimination of jim crow railway coaches, separate waiting rooms, and all other forms of segregation in any type of public transportation. Roscoe Dunjee, editor of Oklahoma City, is state president of the asosciation.

PENNSYLVANIA: As a result of the campaign led by the Philadelphia branch asking for the employment of Negroes by the PTC as motormen and bus operators, and the directive of the FEPC ordering the PTC to hire Negroes as motormen and bus drivers, Dr. A. A. Mitten, chairman of the company's industrial relations committee, met with a delegation of the Philadelphia branch. At this meeting steps were taken to put the directives into operation. "We are law-abiding and are going to obey the law," said Dr. Mitten. "We cannot, however, answer for the union. The next step is a meeting with the union."

The Leigh Valley branch held a mass meeting November 14 in the St. James AMEZ church where the members were addressed by Ella Baker, national director of branches, and Dr. James F. Goodwin, president of the Reading branch.

The Lancaster branch has elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Ernest Christian, president; William Winston, first vice-president; Mrs. F. Epps, second vice-president; Leroy Campbell, executive secretary; Mrs. Blanche Sterrett, treasurer and chairman of finance; Mrs. Anice Travis, membership chairman; A. William Hill, Jr., press and publicity; Rev. E. S. Dennis, legal redress; Merle Wilson, labor and industry; Mrs. Ruby Payne, education; Mrs. Ulrica K. Cook, Miss Naomi Polite, Eli Hart, and Nathaniel Spruiell, entertainment.

Election of officers of the Johnstown branch was made November 26 at a meeting in the Pleasant Hill Baptist church: Dr. B. K. Johnson, president; Columbus Quarles, vice-president; Mrs. Mary C. Sedgewick, secretary; Mrs. Mildred Parker, assistant secretary, and William S. Leftwich, treasurer.

TENNESSEE: The annual membership drive of the Nashville branch for 1943-44 began November 22. Mary White Ovington, national treasurer of the NAACP, spoke at one of the meetings on the origin and the latest work of the Association.

VIRGINIA: After an address by Dr. J. M. Tinsley, state NAACP president, in the First Baptist church November 21 on "The Value of Democracy," the citizens of Franklin organized a local branch. Officers of the newly formed branch are Dr. A. B. Harrison, president; Rev. J. A. Davis, Mrs. Queen Hicks, E. D. Harrell, G. C. Lassiter, and Rev. H. L. Eley, vice-presidents; Mrs. Sadie Doles Wyche, secretary; Mrs. Pauline C. Morton, assistant secretary; and W. P. Thomas, treasurer.

The newly organized Cumberland branch held its first meeting November 21 with Linwood Smith, staff members of the Virginia State Conference, as guest speaker. Other speakers were Rev. Clinton Boone, Virginia Union University; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of the Va. State Conference, and Mrs. M. M. Booker, of the local branch.

Dr. J. M. Tinsely was re-elected in November to the presidency of the Virginia State Conference of the NAACP, and selected to serve with him were H. E. Fauntleroy of Petersburg, vice-president; S. W. Robinson, 3rd., Richmond, secretary; Ethel M. Haile of Petersburg, state secretary; and S. F. Coppage of Norfolk, treasurer. Speakers at the conference meeting were Miss Ella J. Baker, national director of branches; Judge Wiliam H. Hastie of Washington; and Dr. J. M. Tinsley.

WEST VIRGINIA: On November 14 Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary NAACP, discussed the subject of the Negro and labor before the Morgantown branch.

The Wheeling branch held its monthly forum November 28 at the Blue Triangle branch of the YWCA on the subject: "How the Church, Home, and School May Cooperate in Raising the Standards of Conduct of the Youth."

Truman K. Gibson, Jr., civilian aide to the secretary of war, spoke November 28 at the Simpson Methodist church to a meeting of the Charleston branch.

W. J. Parrish, sixty-one-year-old secretary of the Lorado branch of the NAACP, is the oldest employee of the Lorado Coal Mining Co. from the standpoint of service. He has been employed by the firm and its affiliates for thirty-seven years.

The New River branch observed its first anniversary November 28 at a meeting in the Fayette county courthouse. T. G. Nutter of Charleston was the principal speaker, and music was furnished by the DuBois high school band. Mrs. Aleise Watkins, of Mount Hope, and Rufus Turner and Robert Robinson, of Fayetville, sang solos.

Detroit—Still Dynamite

(Continued from page 10)

united front between them would be decisive in 1944. Here too is the foundation for a significant third-party movement in America although such a movement begun at this time would hardly bear fruit in the coming election.

While a political alliance between Negroes and labor has been a favorite theme of the minority leadership in the great industrial cities, the municipal election in Detroit presents one of the most serious problems which must be overcome before such an alliance can be effective. Here in Detroit was a partnership of the two groups wrecked on the shoals of racism. Until this bogey of color is dispelled such an alliance will always be at the mercy of those who dare to exploit racial prejudice.

Upsurge of Racism

We are witnessing today an upsurge of racism which has brought us, in 1943, rioting in Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York. Jews have been beaten on the streets of Boston and their cemeteries desecrated in New York and Chicago. In our democracy the popular prejudices of the people are important political factors and we cannot ignore their implications.

It has been reported that some efforts are being made to assure "fair election practices" in the presidential election. Some senators have suggested that a belt line be established below which no politicians will strike. I doubt the effectiveness of any such gentlemanly agreements. It is interesting to note that despite all of his race-baiting, Mayor Jeffries, according to those who know him best, still considers himself a liberal and a "friend" of the Negro people.

I saw Mayor Jeffries in action in the famed Sojourner Truth controversy of 1942 and I must confess that I was surprised at his strong stand on behalf of Negroes when behind closed doors and under terrific pressure. In one conference with a delegation of anti-Negro clergymen and women residents from the Sojourner Truth district, I heard Jeffries make as strong a plea for Negro rights as I have ever heard from the lips of a white public official.

Wave of Intolerance

Why, then, did he resort to such a campaign for re-election? The answer to this question is, of course, in his character, but part of it also lies in the fact that Detroit itself has been swept off its feet by a wave of inolerance. The Klan-fascists have literally muscled in on Detroit and seized the leadership of the great masses of whites, some native Detroiters and many southern in-migrants, who have traditionally feared that the rise of the Negro was a threat to their own security. While Mayor Jeffries must be condemned for race-baiting, what is infinitely more serious is that northern, progressive Detroit, a union town, has become a place in which race-baiting can tip the scales of victory for a candidate seeking an important political office.

How widespread will this condition become? The uncertainties which afflict all people in a war period have been reflected in America during this war by a determined aggressiveness on the part of all poverty-stricken groups, white and black, who want to move beyond the pale of economic distress. Both racial groups have exhibited the same desperation. The poor white and the poor Negro want to secure their economic future and there is a widespread fear that there is not enough economic room for both.

This basic, underlying, and often unrecognized fear, manifests itself in a variety of anti-Negro behavior patterns: through hate strikes in our industries, through lynchings and mass riots. Today we must couple this fact of fear with the fact that in this war we are faced with an enemy that has scientifically developed techniques for promoting internal disruptions. It is naive to believe that the Nazis would not use their divisive tactics among our heterogenous people even if we did not have the mounting evidence of their handiwork.

Racism as Political Weapon

It is obvious that these forces of fear and fascism which have been at work in Detroit are also at work in many other sections of our country. The United States Attorney General has expressed his alarm over the "national psychology of intolerance". Will this upsurge of racism reflect itself in the party councils and the national election of 1944?

In the Detroit election we can see the frightful possibilities of racism as a political instrument which is no longer the property of southerners alone. The bogey of Negro, Jewish and labor domination in the skilled hands of the pro-fascist reactionaries can achieve in America what all the armies of the Axis never will.

Operating through conventional and customary political channels, they can cloak their designs in a banner of Americanism and confound the unsuspecting. The minority groups which have a common stake in our democracy cannot ignore the threats implicit in the machinations of the hate-mongers. Indeed we have good cause to remember today that it may be better for our minorities to hang together than to be hanged separately.

Aeroplane Shadows

Once our filmy ghost was so much haze,
At which the curious thumbed their thinking caps,
Now, on scrolls across the trackless ways
We're writing for posterity—maps.

—Thomas Jefferson Flanagan

The Negro Reflects on His Ancestry

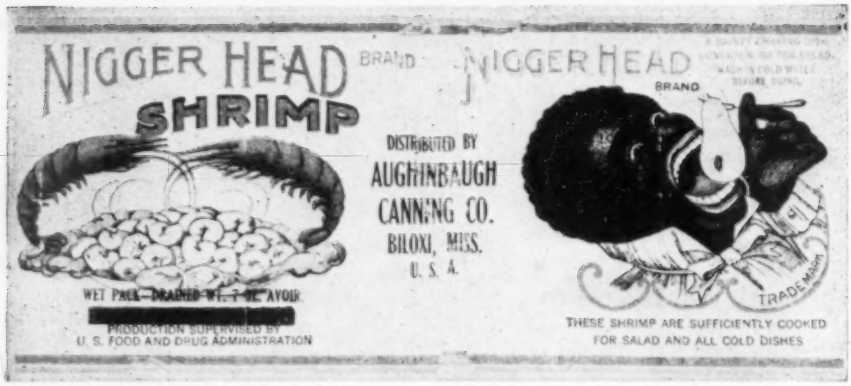
I've know the agony of clanking chains,
And I have waited, watched through stillest night,
And I have told my story to the trees,
the birds, the fields, the white dove in its flight—
So patient have I waited, sung my song
And prayed and loved and died in loneliness;
With faith tenacious I have waited, hoped
That some day right would triumph over wrong.

The prayers the fathers prayed long years ago,
The flame they lighted blazes forth today
To help to shape America's destiny
In some miraculous, undefined way.
How well they prayed, how well they understood
The things that they were building by their prayers:
The heritage of patience, love and good
And hope and faith and courage to meet with all despair.

'Tis well that I would hear a spiritual sung,
And turn my eyes toward heaven once again,
And listen to its strains, catch every phrase,
And pause and wait and then sing on again;
For I must grasp the harmony of it
And lock it in my heart forevermore,
And pray anew that God will guard always
The heritage of my ancestors' prayer.

—Robert V. Lewis

Safeway Stores Insult Negroes



This insulting label was discovered on a can of shrimp being sold in a Safeway store in Temple, Texas. The NAACP member who discovered this label mailed it to the editor of The Crisis, with the accompanyng letter.

To the Editor of The Crisis:

While visiting my husband in one of our Texas army camps, I found the shelves of the Safe Way chain stores, located in Temple, Texas, lined with these insulting products. Thinking this may be of interest to you and other "American Citizens," I am sending this label.

Also at the request of many soldiers stationed there, with whom I had the privilege of talking, I would like to mention a few more things.

Within this "Gov't. Reservation" of Camp Hood, Texas, posted over public water fountains, toilets, theaters, etc., are signs "For Colored" and "For White." Our boys and civilian employees of the camp, including myself, have stood at bus stops, for five and six hours while dozens of drivers refused to stop in colored areas until the whites had been accommodated. Frequently we have been asked out of our seats, so that the whites could sit down. Many other things, too numerous to go into detail, are forcing the morale of our colored soldiers to a new low.

Why must our second lieutenants remain second lieutenants indefinitely, regardless of efficiency or capabilities?

Why must our husbands and brothers go abroad to fight for principles they only "hear" about at home?

Does our War department believe in the Constitution of our Country? Are the "Four Freedoms" excluding our Southern States? Does the "Commander in Chief" realize what's going on in the hearts and minds of his colored soldiers? How long does he expect them to tolerate these deplorable conditions? Is he training them to be brave, courageous soldiers on foreign soil and *mere mice* here at home? Does it matter to him whether or not these men leave the shores of their homeland, with the deep feeling of peace in knowing they must go to protect, and insure Liberty and Justice to ALL here at home?

Is the apeasement of the South worth the sacrifice of America's most loyal citizens? How long will this farce of Democracy continue before our President and War department begin practicing what they preach? I wonder.

A SOLDIER'S WIFE.

(The Crisis has the name and address of the writer of this letter.)

Heart Against the Wind

(Continued from page 18)

enough to go through without her writing a lot of foolishness over there to him.

But things were in such a muddle that they didn't even make horse sense. One way you looked at it it was downright funny: here we are trying to help fight a war and promote a victory for freedom. How do you spell it! What does it mean! There are those who know; and still there are those who believe it is the state of being the boss of everything and everybody this side of tan. It's a lust for power, any kind of power, over the step-citizens of this country. It's the talking against nazis, fascists, and all the other ists, isms, et cetera.

It will be, as it has been, a shame if a country whose people have sworn by Liberty fails to sponsor a fair play program after this great world struggle. How will they curb the laughter if they help to win a struggle for the freedoms of other peoples and changes its spots in the very places where they should not have been for bigger spots.

We all ought to begin now to count the differences that color established in some circles. If we did, Lys wondered, would we be honest enough to apologize for the instances where the prejudices were silly.

She began to laugh. It was absurd to realize that a country of such distinguished folks should sponsor a promulgation so like the one it was striving to liquidate. Democracy is an example of a serpent which gorged itself on a supposed prey and didn't find out till too late that it was eating its own tail.

Lives have been forfeited, liberty has been raped, and happiness has been pursued into the gutter.

Lys twisted a button and the room flooded with light, with the light came a fresh point of view, Stephen's point of view: We men will fight for what we have now, that's more than we have had before; it's worth something, but maybe we won't be wrong in expecting some more of that which we honestly deserve.

And there was Stephen, and all black people, in the room.

Her pen touched the paper.

Dearest Stephen,

We are going to be the proud parents, within this year, of a very special citizen. Don't worry about me, everything is going swell.

I've waited so long to tell you because I had to get me straightened out on a few points which you can well guess.

All the folks say howdy and send best wishes for your continued safety. . . .

Love, love, love,

Lys.

Interracial

Let's build bridges here and there
Or sometimes, just a spiral stair
That we may come somewhat abreast
And sense what cannot be exprest.
And by these measures can be found
A meeting place—a comon ground
Nearer the reaches of the heart
Where truth revealed, stands clear, apart;
With understanding come to know
What laughing lips will never show:
How tears and torturing distress
May masquerade as happiness:
Then you will know when my heart's aching
And I, when yours is slowly breaking.

Commune—The altars will reveal . . .
We then shall be impulsed to kneel
And send a prayer upon its way
For those who wear the thorns today.

Oh, lets build bridges everywhere
And span the gulf of challenge there.

—Georgia Douglas Johnson

Book Review

"THE WIZARD OF TUSKEGEE"

***George Washington Carver:* An American Biography. By Rackham Holt. Illustrated. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1943. VIII+342pp. $3.50.**

George Washington Carver was born near Diamond Grove, Missouri, in the summer of 1864. When still a baby of a few weeks he and his mother were stolen by night raiders. Their master, Moses Carver, heard that a bushwhacker named Bentley knew of their whereabouts and he, therefore, asked Bentley to return mother and child in exchange for forty acres of his best timberland and his horse Pacer. Bentley found the baby, but the mother had disappeared never to be heard of again.

The baby grew into a bright clever youngster, always eager to learn; and the Carvers wanted him to have an education, but they were too poor to help and the recently established free schools in Missouri did not admit little black boys no matter how bright. So at the age of ten George left home and moved to the little town of Neosho, seeking schooling; where he remained for two years. He subsequently attended Simpson College at Indianola, Iowa, earning his way by working in the college laundry. It was at Simpson that Carver began the serious study of painting, becoming skilled enough with the brush to have some of his canvases exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

At this period Carver was trying to make up his mind whether to be a painter or a student of scientific agriculture and botany. Even as a boy he had been known as the "Plant Doctor" because of his ability to nurse ailing plants back to health with sunshine and water. And then there was his conviction that his skill in agriculture would be of much more benefit to his people than his skill in painting, so instead of going to Chicago to study art, he enrolled in the Iowa State College as a student in agriculture.

After graduating from Iowa State, Carver was invited to stay on as a member of the staff in the role of assistant botanist in charge of the greenhouse, and it was during his two years at State that he made his reputation as an outstanding mycologist—an expert in fungal life—as well as an expert in the cross-fertilization and the propagation of plants.

Indubitably one of the best trained agriculturists in the country, Carver went in 1896 to Tuskegee to take up work under the imposing title of "Director and Instructor in Scientific Agriculture and Dairy Science." Really, however, his job was to teach young men "how to apply simple rules of science to farm problems." As a teacher Carver went on the theory that you couldn't teach people anything, but that you could draw out what was in them. He wasted no time on drones and dullards, but if a pupil showed willingness to work Carver gave him maieutic attention. All he wanted was the thing done—and it had to be done right.

Not only was he a good teacher, but he also had a superb faculty for solving practical, everyday problems. He could give sound veterinary advice on how to cure Booker Washington's shot horse; explain to the boys how to get butter to form when they churned; outline a recipe for removing scabs from sheep; work out eighteen different ways for cooking the cowpea; convince farmers that they should rotate their crops; and extract water-soluble bluing from rotten sweet potatoes. Never did he see weeds and waste without thinking of their potentialities for usefulness.

Coupled with this supernal cleverness, however, went a puzzling eccentricity of character. "In some minds he remained a foreigner, and hence an object of distrust." He was reticent, shy, something of a recluse; and naturally the normal talkative, gregarious folk with whom he was thrown could not understand him. He disliked social affairs, could not remember peoples' names, and was aloof. He always preferred the quiet of his room to the inconsequential chatter and gossip which so often masquerade as conversation. Yet when he could be persuaded to go out people found him to be a jolly, entertaining dinner companion.

His nonconformity in dress, however, nettled more than his reclusion and was the despair of his colleagues. Dr. Carver dressed carelessly, even slovenly; he wore baggy, frowzy work clothes, which were an endless source of mockery for those about him. "There goes the great Professor Carver. He looks like a ragamuffin!" they would jeer. "You must change on Sunday," they insisted; but when he did no one could tell the difference. Carver, when twitted about his personal appearance, would puckishly explain that people wanted to see him or to hear his ideas, not to see his clothes.

Though a scientist in an age of scepticism, Dr. Carver remained a very religious man. Many people misunderstood his belief that God gave him inspiration for his discoveries; they thought he was mixing theology with biology; but he wasn't. As Victor Hugo once sagely remarked: ". . . All great men have had revelations—all superior minds." And Dr. Carver's was certainly a superior mind!

His superior mind and achievements brought him many honors during his lifetime. In 1916 he was made a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts of London; in 1923 he received the Spingarn medal; in 1935 he was appointed a collaborator in the Bureau of Plant Industry; and in 1939 he was one of the three recipients of the Roosevelt Medal. He bore all these honors without affectation of triumph and with his customary simplicity of manner because the flattery of this world never turned his head.

Sprung from the people, though he walked with kings and potentates, Dr. Carver never lost the common touch. He met savant and servant in the same kindly, human manner. The man's life seems actually greater than his work, for he was almost Christ-like in character; he was lovable, tender, compassionate, forgiving, self-sacrificing; a man who always put the interests of humanity above those of self. America has probably produced no nobler figure than he. He suffered, too, from race prejudice and racial proscription but a bitter word never escaped his lips.

Mrs. Holt has written a good book out of sympathy and understanding of the man, but she is weakest in her analysis of Dr. Carver's thought and in her appraisal of his work in chemurgy. Final evaluation of Dr. Carver's work as scientist will, of course, have to await the judgment of time and his peers.

JAMES W. IVY

Would you like to change someone's mind about the Negro? Then subscribe to *The Crisis* for him or her. Only $1.50 a year.

The Month

WAR: Howard University medical school is one of 93 hospitals and medical schools throughout the country to have completed formation of "affiliated units" of civilian physicians to be available to either OCD or the Army in the event of need for setting up emergency hospital facilities in their respective areas.

Since October, 1943, more than 7,000 Negroes have enrolled in the Seabees, and at least 2,000 of them are now on active duty in the South Pacific and the South Atlantic.

Aviation Cadet Othel Dickson of the Tuskegee Army air field led all flying cadets from the Eastern Flying Training Command in the National Fixed Gunnery Meet held on the AAF gunnery ranges along the Florida coast.

Mervin Ferguson, 28-year-old Negro, who has served as fishing guide in the Bahamas for such distinguished visitors as President Roosevelt, the Duke of Windsor, the Duke of Kent, Ernest Hemingway, and the late Andrew W. Mellon is now in training at the U. S. Naval Training Station, Great Lakes, Ill.

Seventh Liberty ship to be named for an outstanding Negro American, the SS *James Weldon Johnson*, launched at the Wilmington yards of the California Shipbuilding Corporation. Other Liberty ships named for Negroes are the SS *Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Frederick Douglass, John Merrick*, and *Robert L. Vann.*

Only test case made to date of the legality of the U. S. Army's discriminatory treatment of Negro soldiers, that of Winfred Lynn, argued by Arthur Garfield Hays before U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals sitting in New York.

Pvt. James Moore of Camp Barkley, Texas, ejected from Southern Railway train near Atlanta, Ga., when he resented conductor's rude order to sit down.

Brig. Gen. S. I. McCroskey, commander of Camp Stewart near Savannah, Ga., at the time Negro soldiers rioted in protest against segregation and alleged mistreatment, given new command at Camp Davis, N. C.

First all-Negro American hospital unit, composed of fifteen nurses and thirteen doctors, arrived in London.

Major Oscar Randall, executive officer of the 366th Infantry Regiment, promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel.

Pvt. Cornelius Griffin, Baltimore, Md., won second prize in recent Spe-

cial Service Branch art contest held at Camp Gordon Johnston, Florida.

LABOR: WMC announces increase in total employment of Negroes in war production, but a serious time-lag in the use of Negroes by smaller firms as well as in occupational up-grading.

FEPC held public hearings in Philadelphia on charges of employment discrimination on the Philadelphia Transit system. FEPC also examined complaints alleging employment discrimination against Negroes in shipyards in the Los Angeles, Cal., area. Southern railroads and terminal companies challenged the legal and constitutional authority of FEPC to issue directives to cease discriminatory practices affecting the employment of Negroes, and informed the committee that they could not comply with its orders of November 18, 1943, because to do so would seriously handicap the war program. Asserting that the race situation can best be handled by local people, the Atlanta, Ga., city council adopted a resolution protesting against and seeking the removal of the Southeastern regional office of the FEPC.

Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America appointed former assistant manager Noah C. A. Walter, Negro, as co-manager of the Laundry Workers Joint Board of Greater New York.

WLB ordered striking Western Electric employees in Baltimore, Md., back to work after a strike had been called to back demand for jim crow toilets.

Operators of the Capital Transit Company, Washington, D. C., have to take an oath against racism, although the company blames the union for its failure to hire Negroes as bus drivers and conductors.

COLOR LINE: *Collier's* weekly editorially endorsed recent statement of administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference that one of essentials of a good peace is better treatment of the Negro.

Sheriff W. J. Erskine, of Anderson County, S. C., convicted by a federal jury for brutality to his prisoners. Victim was Pvt. Lucis Cowan, Negro, stationed at Fort Bragg.

Ann W. Brown, well-known concert singer and former star of *Porgy and Bess,* barred from Baltimore, Md., white theatres and forced to give her concert in a local church.

George Marshall, chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, in a letter to Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, called upon the National and American baseball leagues to end discrimination against Negro baseball players.

John Collier, U. S. Commissioner for Indian Affairs, sees rise of racial prejudice as cause of third world war.

Race relations message from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America challenged evils of segregation and racial discrimination.

"Statement on the Race Relations Crisis" urged the elimination of racial segregation in American life issued in behalf of 317 leading figures in the fields of education, religion, and labor in 37 states by Oswald Garrison Villard.

Recent pamphlet of the American Civil Liberties Union lists four New England cities, Providence, R. I., Bridgeport, New Haven, and Hartford, Conn., among the twenty-three cities where racial tension is highest and riots are liable to break out.

As a result of recent editorial in Richmond, Va., *Times-Dispatch* calling for repeal of the state law requiring segregation on buses and streetcars, leading Negroes called conference in Richmond and organized committee to crusade against segregation on transit facilities throughout the state.

EDUCATION: Dr. Charles W. Buggs, bacteriologist, became first Negro to hold full-time position at Wayne University, Detroit.

ARTS: Chauncey Northern Vocal Art Group made its first appearance at American Theatre Wing of the Stage Door Canteen.

JAMES W. IVY

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorneys outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights.

CALIFORNIA

H. L. Richardson
1557 7th Street, Oakland
Telephone: 5998

DELAWARE

Louis L. Redding
1002 French St., Wilmington
Telephone: 3-1924

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Isaiah Lisemby
1609 First St. N. W., Washington D. C.
Telephone: North 7343

ILLINOIS

Ellis & Westbrooks
3000 S. State St., Chicago, Ill.
Telephone Cal-4968-9

INDIANA

William Henry Huff
East Chicago (Direct mail to
533 East 34th Place, Chicago, Ill.
Telephone: OAKland 2848)

KANSAS

R. W. Johnson
436 Minn. Avenue, Kansas City, Kan.
Telephone: Fairfax 3867

John Q. Sayers
P. O. Box 186, Hill City
Telephone: 1

MICHIGAN

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Avenue, Grand Rapids
Telephone: 8-9042

MISSOURI

John A. Davis
2103A Market St., St. Louis

Clarence A. Jones
129 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 13
Telephone: VAndyne 1764

NEW JERSEY

J. Mercer Burrell
23 Howard Street, Newark
Telephone: Ma 3-4709

Robert Burk Johnson
300 Broadway, Room 603, Camden
Telephone: Camden 0110

NEW YORK

William T. Andrews
1 West 125th St., New York, N. Y.
Telephone: LEhigh 4-0989

William T Garvin
217 W. 125th St., New York
Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

Norman B. Johnson
41 Albany Ave., Brooklyn 43
Telephone: SLocum 6-4760

OHIO

Harry E. Davis
202-6 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland
Telephone: MA-1320

Chester K. Gillespie
416 Hickox Bldg., Cleveland
Telephone: Cherry 1835

Jesse D. Locker
612 W. 9th St., Cincinnati, O.
Telephone: CH 5171

OKLAHOMA

Cecil E. Robertson
114 1-2 Court Street, Muskogee
Telephone: 836

PENNSYLVANIA

Raymond Pace Alexander
40 S. Nineteenth St., Philadelphia
Telephone: Rittenhouse 9960

Sadie T. Mossell Alexander
40 S. Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia
Telephone: Rittenhouse 9960

Theodore Spaulding
425 South Broad St., Philadelphia
Telephone: Pennypacker 4834

Fitzhugh Lee Styles
2200 West Columbia Ave., Philadelphia
Telephone: Stevenson 6182

VIRGINIA

Martin A. Martin
Southern Aid Building, Danville
Telephone: 2475

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180 W. 135th Street, New York N. Y.
CONVENIENT TO EVERYWHERE

Men Behind American Music

(*Continued from page 15*)

it cannot be denied that the Negro has contributed more than any other single race to its creation and development. If at this late date we were able to trace many of the created and the folk songs of America, serious or secular, and many of the characteristics that make us recognize American music as American, to their corect sources we might discover that the Negro's contribution has been, in fact, overwhelming. The encouraging part of it all is that, without the means to exploit his own work, he already has succeeded in making his influence felt so strongly.

The Negro Has To Laugh

The Negro has to laugh
To keep from crying:
Cursed for doing nothing,
Cursed for trying,
Damned for being truthful,
Damned for lieing,
Penalized for living,
Blamed for dying;
The Negro has to laugh
To keep from crying.

—ANDY RAZAF

Dr. Bethune Addreses American-Soviet Congress

On November 8 in Madison Square Garden, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, spoke to the American-Soviet Friendship Congress on the topic "The Stake of Women in Strengthening American-Soviet Friendship in War and Peace."

September

I come in singing on the wings of a breeze
I've a stock of brown caps for the sleepy headed trees
And the ragged cornstalks I call to their knees.

I lift sunfiowers where the late roses died,
I open the gates for Jack Frost wide,
And call to the peavines—let's take a ride!

—THOMAS JEFFERSON FLANAGAN

California
HOTEL SIMMONS
"A home away from home"
542 6th Ave.—San Diego

Ohio
WARD APARTMENT HOTEL
4113 Cedar Avenue, Cleveland

College and School News

(*Continued from page 5*)

Leave of absence has been granted by the WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE to Professor James C. Evans, director of trade and technical education and professor of mechanical industries to become Assistant Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War in the Educational Training program of the War Department. He was formerly connected with the War Production Board and later was consultant of the War Manpower Commission. An honor graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1926, Mr. Evans was the recipient in the same year of the Harmon award for research in the field of electrical engineering.

LANGSTON UNIVERSITY has appointed 12 new faculty members as follows:

Dr. R. P. Perry, administrative dean of the college; A. B., Johnson C. Smith University; M.S., Ph.D., University of Iowa; formerly professor of chemistry and director of the Division of Arts and Sciences, Prairie View State College; Member of American Chemical Society, Fellow of American Association for the Advancement of Science, Vice President of Association of Teachers of Science in Colleges and Affiliated Institutions; listed in sixth edition of American Men of Science.

Dr. Eugene S. Richards, profesosr of sociology; Ph.D., University of Southern California; formerly professor of sociology at Prairie View State College and Southern University; member of American Sociological Society and Alpha Kappa Delta Honorary Society.

Miss Youra Qualls, instructor in English; A.B., Fisk University; M.A., Radcliffe College, also completion of residential requirement for Ph.D. degree; formerly taught at Fisk University and Prairie View State College.

Mr. S. H. Settler, director of Agriculture; B.S., M.S., Kansas State College; additional year of graduate work at Cornell University; formerly taught at Prairie View State College, Tuskegee, and Lincoln University.

Mrs. Arvella Gamble Wood, instructor in education; A.B., Langston; M.A., Colorado State College.

Mrs. Lena Brown Work, dean of women; A.B., Langston; M.A., University of Michigan; formerly assistant registrar at Langston.

Miss Mae Dee McConnell, instructor in nursery school; A.B., Langston University.

Mrs. Teresa Hughes, secretary to the President; A.B., Hampton Institute; formerly secretary in FSA, United

States Department of Agriculture.

Miss Wynona Barrett, secretary to the administrative dean; A.B., Langston University.

Miss Cavannah Mewborne, secretary to Agricultural Extension Department; A.B., Langston University.

Mrs. N. B. Dillon, director of war training program.

Mrs. Elmyra Todd, assistant librarian; B.S., Langston; B.L.S. and graduate work, University of Illinois; formerly librarian in high school at Sand Springs, Oklahoma, and Public Librarian in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

A special committee under the chairmanship of Coach James E. Lyttle, Jr., has been appointed by President Robert P. Daniel of SHAW UNIVERSITY to provide for a university-wide program for the participation of all students in a wholesome physical activity. Special material to carry on the program has been purchased.

The best book buy is still THE NEGRO IN VIRGINIA — Entertaining, Educational, Sensational!

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